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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

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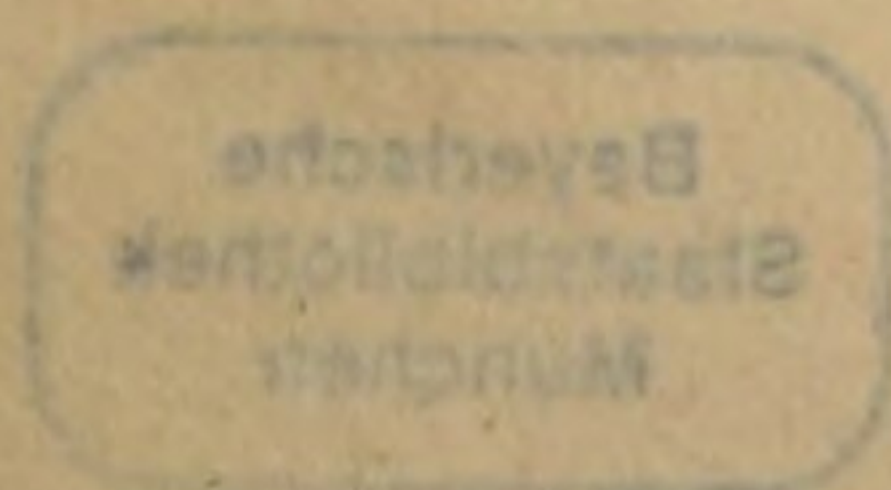
OF THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT:
IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY
EDWARD WELLS, D.D.
RECTOR OF COTESBACH IN LEICESTERSHIRE.

VOL. I.

OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

MDCCCXIX.



HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY

EDWARD WELLS, D.D.

REGENT OF COLLEGE IN LEICESTERSHIRE

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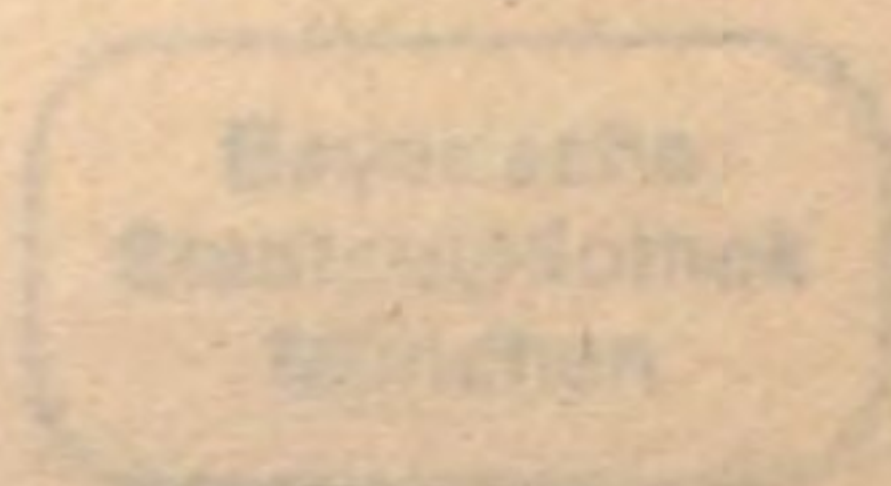
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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN this edition it has been deemed sufficient to retain so much only of the Prefaces that were prefixed, in the original editions, to the different volumes, as tends to elucidate the subject, or to explain the grounds upon which Dr. WELLS proceeded. The Dedications, as well as the Cuts, or Draughts, which were taken chiefly from Le Bruyn's Travels, a work not very difficult to be procured, are omitted; and the Alphabetical Tables to the different volumes are comprised in one general Index. The superior merit of D'Anville's Ancient Maps is now so generally acknowledged, that little apology seems necessary for new modelling by them the general plan of the maps given in the former editions of Dr. WELLS; where the situation assigned to any particular place or country in one map rarely coincides with the situation assigned to it in another; not to mention that in many instances it is assigned erroneously in both. In all cases, however, in which it appears from the work itself, that Dr. WELLS has deliberately adopted an opinion, from which D'Anville differs, the preference has uniformly been given to the former; an

act of justice, to which he is the more entitled, as he seldom, if ever, speaks decisively, without adducing his reasons.

It remains only to account for an apparent anachronism in the following Preface, by admonishing the reader, that the Historical Geography of the Old and New Testaments were originally distinct and separate publications; and that the Geography of the New Testament was first published by the Author.



P R E F A C E.

IN the sacred Scriptures there are distinguishable these two general parts, a Doctrinal and an Historical. By the Doctrinal part are understood those instructions, which teach us what we are to believe and practise, in order to our eternal salvation. By the Historical part is meant the account given us of transactions and events; either in reference to nations, especially that of the Jews; or in reference to single persons, as Abraham, David, &c. but above all, our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, *the author and finisher of our faith.* Heb. xii. 2.

Of these two parts of Scripture, the Doctrinal, being of infinitely the highest concern, requires therefore our far greatest study and application. However this hinders not, but that we may, and very commendably too, spend some time and thoughts on the Historical part of Scripture; it being but reasonable to think, that what the wisdom of God has judged fit to make part of his word, we may judge fit to make part of our study.

This being certain in general, it will easily be granted, that amongst all the historical passages of Scripture, circumstances appertaining to the history of our blessed Saviour challenge the first place in our studious thoughts and inquiries. And as Geography is acknowledged to be one eye of History in general, so nothing can more conduce to illustrate the history of our Lord, than giving as it were a plan of those places which made up the scene, whereon the particulars of his holy and unspotted life were transacted; especially if the geographical description be ranged after an historical method, or according to the series of time, wherein the places were visited by our blessed Lord.

This is the design and method of the ^a first Part of this work, which therefore cannot be reasonably disliked, whatever the performance may be. Though even this, I hope, carries nothing in it, but what is very excusable by a reader of candour, and not unapprehensive of the nature of the subject.

In describing the ancient state and condition of places, as they were in the times of our Saviour, I have chiefly followed (where I could) Josephus, the celebrated Jewish Historian, as being beyond dispute the best qualified author to inform us therewith; forasmuch as he lived in the first century, and was not only a native of the Holy Land, but also a great commander or general in it.

^a See the Advertisement prefixed to this edition.

But judging it might be not less (if not more) acceptable to the genius of the age, I have inserted also the best account we have of the present state and condition of places mentioned in the Gospels, and lying within the Holy Land. This I have taken chiefly from the late reverend and ingenious Mr. Maundrell, then Chaplain to the factory at Aleppo, in his Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, A.D. 1697. This worthy person appears by his writings to have been so well qualified for a work of this nature, that it is much to be regretted, that he had not the opportunity of taking a survey of all the parts of the Holy Land, but especially of the Sea of Galilee, and the country round it. Sure I am, it is much to be wished, that this might be done by some other worthy person belonging to the forementioned factory, and no less qualified for such an undertaking. It is obvious of what great use this might be, for the clearing some passages in the Gospels, which relate to our Saviour's journeyings about the Sea of Galilee.

I need not enlarge on the great use that maps are of to the better understanding of all sorts of geographical treatises. For which reason, I have added to this first Part a map, shewing the places mentioned in the four Gospels, and lying chiefly within the Holy Land: as I have also added another map to the other part of this work, shewing such places as are mentioned in the other books of the New Testament, and lay chiefly without the Holy Land. So that in one of these two maps is to be found any

place mentioned or referred to in the whole New Testament.

It is here to be further remarked, that I have not contented myself with giving a bare geographical account of places ; but have also taken notice of such famous persons, or actions, or other circumstances, as the places are memorable for in history, or at least deserve our present observation. And this I have done to the end that this work might be useful in more respects than one ; and not only more useful, but also more pleasant and entertaining to the reader. On this historical account, as also by reason of the historical method I have made use of both in this and the other Part, I have given to this work the name of an Historical Geography of the New Testament.

I have purposely avoided, as much as I could, all critical disquisitions, this work being chiefly designed for the service of such as are not wont to find any great pleasure in criticisms, at least, of this nature ; and are not much skilled in any other but their native English tongue. For which last reason, I have likewise made use of the English translation of Josephus by Sir Roger L'Estrange, where I have had occasion to cite any passage out of the said Jewish Historian.

As Geography is esteemed one eye of History, so Chronology is no less justly esteemed the other ; and

therefore, to give all the light I could to the history of the New Testament, I have added two Chronological Tables, one of the history of our blessed Saviour, and the other of St. Paul's travels, taken from the tables published by Mr. Marshal, and approved of (to say no more) by Dr. Lloyd, late Bishop of Worcester, who was generally esteemed one of the most learned in chronology of his age.

It is also to be here further observed, that, whereas in the former editions I followed what is commonly thought the series or course of the history of our Saviour; having since had occasion to inquire more strictly into that matter, (namely, in order to the drawing up of my table of the harmony of the Gospels lately published,) I have thereby seen cause to look on the course of our Saviour's history commonly followed to be wrong: and therefore to alter and transpose some passages of our Saviour's journeyings in the former editions.

THE second Part of the Geography of the New Testament being of the same nature in general with the first, it is needful only to observe, that my particular design is to give a geographical and historical account of the places mentioned, or referred to, in the books of the New Testament, which follow after the four Gospels. The far greatest number of which

places being contained in the history or Epistles of St. Paul, I have distinguished this second Part by the title of the Travels and Voyages of St. PAUL, the Apostle of the Gentiles.

In describing the places, I have observed the same historical method used in the other Part; ranging them according to the series of time, when they were visited by St. Paul; this being the most conducive way to illustrate the history of our Apostle.

Through the whole performance, I have guided myself by the same measures, as in the first Part. The ancient state of several places, which lay without the Holy Land, is taken from Strabo, who lived in the first century; and the present state is taken chiefly either from Sir Paul Ricaut, or Mr. Maundrell. To Mr. Maundrell we are beholden for the present state of Damascus and Ptolemais, which he visited in 1697: to Sir Paul Ricaut for the present state of the seven Churches in Asia, to which the seven Epistles, recorded in the Revelation of St. John, were sent; which he visited in 1678.

WITH respect to my Geography of the Old Testament, I need say no more of the design of this work in general, and the method observed therein, than that they are of a like nature with the design

and method of my Geography of the New Testament.

The most observable difference between one work and the other is this, that in my Geography of the Old Testament I have found it requisite to have frequent recourse to the Hebrew language, and to make use of some terms of the Hebrew Grammarians; which because it is likely some readers may not be acquainted with, I judged this the most proper place to explain them in.

It is observable, that none of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet are vowels, there being originally no characters for these, as is probable, forasmuch as in the old Hebrew text no vowels are expressed. The characters, whereby the vowels are expressed in the present Hebrew Bibles, as also those whereby the consonants are expressed, were taken from the Chaldeans, and learnt by the Jews, and brought into use among them, during the Babylonish captivity. So that what is now-a-days called the Hebrew text is in reality no other than the Hebrew text expressed in Chaldee characters, whether consonants or vowels. The true old Hebrew characters are those now-a-days called the Samaritan characters; among which, as I said above, there are none for vowels.

Lastly, it is only further observable, as to our present purpose, that the Hebrew letters are distin-

guished into radicals and serviles. For the Hebrew Grammarians call their primitive words, Radixes, or Roots, as being those from which the derivative words do as it were spring or arise. Hence such letters as go to make up the radix or primitive word are called in respect thereof Radical letters. But such other letters as, being added to the radix, serve to form any derivative word from it, are thence called Servile letters. Now the letters, which most usually serve to this purpose, are contained in this word **האמנתי** Heemanti, whence they are called the Heemantic letters.

What has been here laid before the reader will enable him to have a competent understanding of whatever (if I remember aright) is said in the following Treatise, with reference to the Hebrew tongue, and will particularly be of great use in understanding how to trace out the etymology or derivation of names, and thereby the original of nations. For from what has been observed it is evident, that in the etymology of names from the Hebrew tongue, the letters of the radix are chiefly, if not solely, to be regarded.

As to what particularly concerns the first Part of my Geography of the Old Testament, it is requisite only to observe to the reader, that, in the account of the situation of the Garden of Eden, I have taken a great deal from the learned Huet, Bishop of Soissons in France, as having, I think, wrote best on

that subject. In the account of the original plantations of mankind after the flood, I had received great help from our learned countryman, Mr. Mede, and the learned Frenchman, Monsieur Bochart. As to the description of Noah's ark, it is taken from the famous mathematician, Bishop Wilkins's tract, inserted by Mr. Pole into his Synopsis Criticorum.

As the first part of my Geography of the Old Testament contains the geography of Genesis, so the second Part contains the geography of the remaining books of Moses, as also of the three following books, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, and consequently completes the geography of the Octateuch. For under this single name are usually comprehended the eight first books of the Old Testament, as the five first books are comprehended under the like name of the Pentateuch.

The method, as well as design, of the second Part being in the main the same with that of the first, I need here take notice but of the following particulars.

In drawing up the second Part, I judged it proper to take notice therein, solely, or principally, of such places, as conduce to the better understanding of the sacred history. For this reason I have not trou-

bled the reader with such cities, or towns, as are mentioned only in Joshua, in reference to the several tribes they belonged to, but no where else in reference to any historical transaction or occurrence. There being also several other places, which are but once or twice mentioned in the sacred history, and that but barely, so as no light is afforded thereby (or from any other authors) as to their situation, I have likewise judged it better to pass most of them quite over in silence, than to name them only to tell the reader, that no tolerable account could be given of them. For the same reason I have not crowded the map of the Holy Land with multitude of places of no use to be known, but have inserted therein only such as are remarkable in reference to the sacred history.

To take off the dryness of bare Geography, I have studiously laid hold of such opportunities as came in my way, to take notice of any curiosity, either natural or artificial. And I have ventured to enlarge upon the Pyramids, as being some of the noblest pieces of human art and labour, either ancient or modern.

There remains only to observe, that, in order to adjust the geography of these sacred books, I have, upon consulting the Samaritan or old Hebrew Pentateuch, learnt the true original reading of several texts, particularly of Deut. x. 6, 7. whereby the contrariety of the present reading of the said text (in the

common Hebrew and our English Bible) to Numb. xxxiii. 30. is quite taken away, as is shewn pages 277, 281, 283. of this volume; and in like manner, the present corrupt reading of Exod. xii. 40. in the common Hebrew and our English Bible, is corrected from the Samaritan Pentateuch, as it is shewn in the Chronological Account hereto belonging.

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Of the Plains of the Alluvial or Fertile World, mentioned in several Scriptures; also the Garden of Eden, the Land of Noah, and the City of Babel. p. 1.

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common Hebrew and our English Bible) to 7000.
xxiii. 30. is given in a way, as is shown by
275, 281, 283. of this volume; and in like manner,
the present copy-reading of Exod. xii. 40. in the
common Hebrew and our English Bible, is correct-
ed from the Samaritan Pentateuch, as it is shown in
the Chronological Account, &c. in the margin.

It is to be observed, that, in order to
avoid the geography of these books, I have
not inserted the Samaritan or old Hebrew
names, but the names as they are in the
Hebrew, particularly in Deut. 32. where the
name of the present people is given.

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AN
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT.

PART I.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OLD TESTAMENT

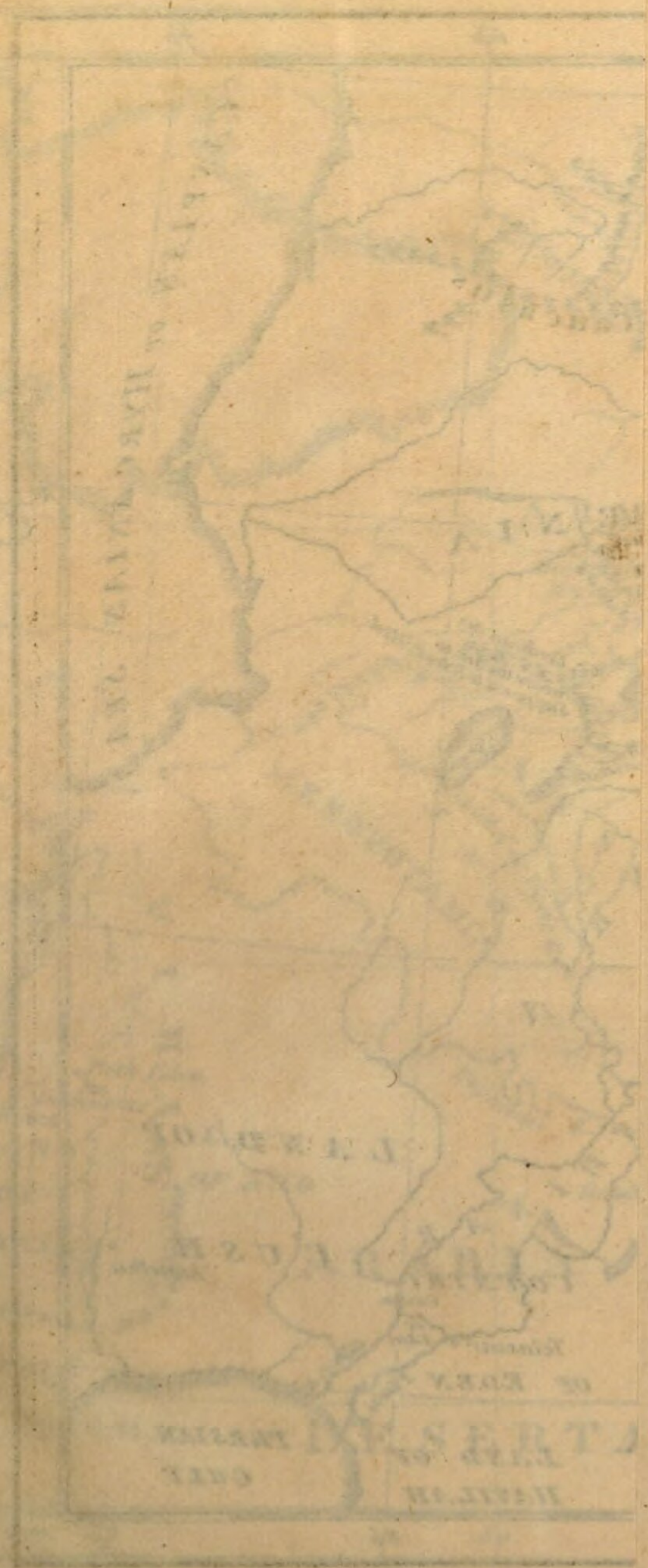
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The Gulf of Persia

Arabia

The Persian Gulf

The Red Sea

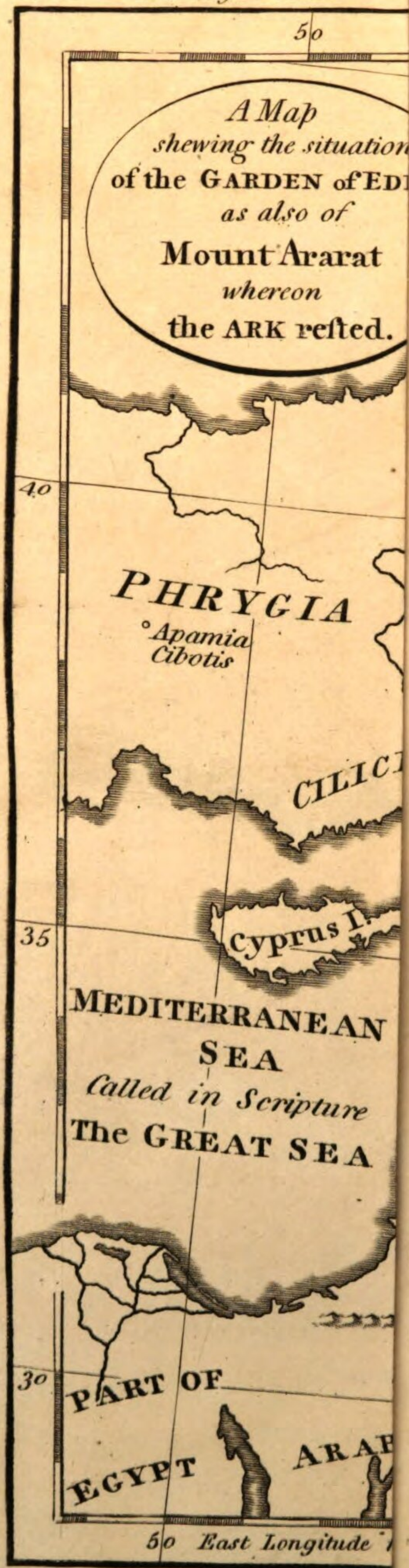
The Indian Ocean

The Strait of Hormuz

The Strait of Bab el Mandeb

The Strait of Suez

The Strait of Gibraltar



HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAP. I.

Of the Places of the Antediluvian World, mentioned in sacred History; viz. the Garden of Eden, the Land of Nod, and the City of Enoch.

AS the sacred History is very short in other particulars relating to the *antediluvian* world, (that is, to the state of the world *before the Flood*;) so is it in reference to its geography; all the places thereof mentioned by Moses being either the Garden of Eden, with such places as belong to the description of its situation, or else the land of Nod, and the city of Enoch built therein. I shall speak of each.

To begin then with the Garden of Eden. As it was by far the most remarkable place of the antediluvian earth, so its situation is more fully and particularly set down by Moses, in these words; (Gen. ii. 8. and 10. to 14. inclusively.) *And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden.—And a river went out of Eden to water*

1.
The places of the antediluvian world, mentioned in sacred History.

2.
The situation of the Garden of Eden described by Moses.

PART I. *the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx-stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Cush. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth before Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates.*

3. From this account we learn, first, in what country the terrestrial Paradise was situated; namely, in the country of Eden. The word Eden in the Hebrew language, according to its primary and common acceptation, denotes *pleasure* or *delight*. Whence the same word came, in a secondary acceptation, to be imposed as a proper name on several places of a more than ordinarily *pleasant* and *delightful* situation.

4. Such was that spoken of by the Prophet Amos, i. 5. *I will break also the bar of Damascus, and cut off the inhabitant from the plain of Aven, and him that holdeth the sceptre from the house of Eden: and the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir, saith the Lord.* The Eden here mentioned was (as the learned Bishop of Soissons, P. D. Huet, thinks) a valley situated between the mountains of Libanus and Anti-libanus, and so in that part of Syria, whereof Damascus was the metropolis. This valley, adds he, deserved the name of Eden, or rather of Beth-Eden, that is to say, *house of pleasure*, by reason of its fertility and pleasantness. This induced some to believe, that the earthly Paradise stood here; and they were the more persuaded of it, because they found in the neighbourhood a town called Paradise, mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy^a. They sought also here the place, where Adam was created, and that where Cain killed his brother Abel, and persuaded themselves that they had found them here. To this account of Bp. Huet it may be

^a Plin. lib. v. cap. 23. Ptolem. Asiæ Tab. 4.

added, that this seems to be the place^b Mr. Maundrell CHAP. I.
takes notice of, in his journey from Damascus towards
Tripoli; where he tells us, that having travelled four
hours and a half from Damascus, he came to a small
village called Sinie, just by which is an ancient structure
on the top of an high hill, supposed to be the tomb of
Abel, who, as the same Author tells us, is said by some
to have been murdered by his brother in this place. The
tomb is thirty yards long; and yet it is here believed to
have been but just proportioned to the stature of him,
who was buried in it. Here, adds Mr. Maundrell, we
entered into a narrow gut, between two steep rocky
mountains, the river Barrady running at the bottom. On
the other side of the river were several tall pillars, which
excited our curiosity to go and take a nearer view of
them. We found them part of the front of some ancient
and very magnificent edifice, but of what kind we could
not conjecture. Now these two accounts of the two
forementioned ingenious writers, being laid together, will,
I think, afford great light for the right and clear under-
standing of the Eden, or rather Beth-Eden, mentioned in
the forecited place of the Prophet Amos. For it is not
unlikely, that this whole little valley, lying thus between
two steep rocky mountains, and having the river Barrady
running along the bottom of it, might formerly have
the name of Eden given to it. But however this was,
whether it had the very name of Eden, or no; it is not
to be doubted, but it was esteemed a *pleasant* place, and
that this was the inducement to build here the fore-
mentioned edifice, which, by reason of such its pleasant
situation, was called Beth-Eden. And, since this edifice
appears by its present ruins to have been so very magnifi-
cent, it is most highly probable, that it was a royal struc-
ture, and no other than a *pleasure-house* (or *Buon Retiro*^c)
of the kings of Syria, being at the distance of four or

^b Journey from Aleppo to Jeru-
salem, p. 133.

^c The King of Spain has a seat
so named.

PART I. five hours riding from Damascus, the capital city of that kingdom, and so at a very convenient distance for such a seat of pleasure or retirement. Hence the ruin of the king of Syria is elegantly, as well as appositely expressed, by God's *cutting off him that holds the sceptre from Beth-Eden*, this being the place where the said kings of Syria were wont chiefly to please and recreate themselves. But of this enough.

5.
A village
near Tripoli
in Syria,
called
Eden.

Besides the Eden thus mentioned by the Prophet Amos, there is also a village called Eden near Tripoli in Syria, on the mount Libanus, where some likewise have placed the earthly Paradise. This village is also taken notice of by Mr. Maundrell, who tells us, that having gone for three hours cross the plains of Tripoli, he arrived at the foot of Libanus; and from thence continually ascending, not without great fatigue, came in four hours and an half to a small village called Eden, and in two hours and an half more to the Cedars.

6.
Several
places call-
ed Adena,
or Adana,
a word prob-
ably de-
rived from
the He-
brew Eden.

Further, it is not to be questioned, but from the Hebrew word Eden has been derived the word Adena, or Adana, which we find in Greek and Latin authors, given as a proper name to several towns. There was a town in Cilicia of this name, pleasantly situated in a fruitful soil. There is also a famous port in Arabia, on the entrance of the Red Sea, called Adena or Aden; which (to use Bishop Huet's expression) for having been the most delightful place of a very delightful country, I mean, of Arabia Felix, has been called itself Arabia Felix, as comprehending in it all the beauties of that country. And besides this Adena, there was another in the middle of the same country, bearing the same name with the first, for the same reason. Whence it is no wonder, that the Arabians inhabiting that province, believed that Paradise was amongst them.

7.
The marks
whereby
Moses dis-
tinguishes
the situa-

The instances already brought are sufficient to shew, that the word Eden was imposed as a proper name on several places. And it is certain, that none of the fore-mentioned places was the Eden, wherein the earthly

Paradise was seated; and that for this reason, because the marks, whereby Moses describes the situation of the earthly Paradise, are not to be found in any of the said places. We are therefore to proceed, and enquire where the said marks are to be found; and in order thereto it must be considered, what are the marks themselves, or what in short they amount to, which is this, viz. that the Eden, wherein God planted the garden of Paradise, lay on a river or single channel, which out of Eden was parted into four heads or rivers, by name Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Perath or Euphrates. If therefore these four rivers can be found, having somewhere a single channel common to them all, then we may rest assured, that on that single channel, or river, lay the country of Eden, wherein was seated the earthly Paradise.

CHAP. I.

tion of the
earthly
Paradise.

We are therefore, in the first place, to find out the true situation of the four rivers here specified by Moses. I shall take them in the same order they are mentioned by Moses, and shall therefore begin first with Pison; the situation whereof is thus described by the said sacred historian: *The name of the first (namely, river) is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx-stone.*

8.

Moses's de-
scription of
the river
Pison.

From hence it is evident, that, in order to find out the river Pison, we must first find out the land of Havilah here mentioned. And in doing this, we cannot follow better guides than the sacred writers. We read then of a country called Havilah in two other places of Scripture, viz. Gen. xxv. 18. and 1 Sam. xv. 7. In the former of these two places Moses informs us, that the *Ishmaelites* (or posterity of Ishmael) *dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, &c.* In the latter we are informed, that *Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah until thou comest to Shur, that is before Egypt.* In both which places by this expression, *from Havilah unto Shur*, is probably meant the whole extent of that part of Arabia, which lies between Egypt to the west, and a certain

9.

The land of
Havilah,
said by Mo-
ses to be
washed by
the river
Pison,
where
seated.

PART I. channel or river (which empties itself into the Persian Gulf) to the east. For that Shur was the western extremity of this part of Arabia, is evident from Exod. xv. 22. where we read, that *Moses brought Israel from the Red Sea, and they went out into the wilderness of Shur.* So that Shur was that part of Arabia, which came up to the bottom of the Red Sea or Arabian Gulf, and so joined on to Egypt. And as it thus clearly appears, that Shur was the western extremity of that part of Arabia we are speaking of; so it seems no less clear, that Havilah was the eastern extremity of the same; and that not only from the import of the forecited expression, but also forasmuch as, in common authors, we find here placed, a people whose name, though somewhat varied by various authors, yet in all the several variations of it retains visible footsteps of the name of their forefather Havilah, or, as it is written more agreeably to the original Hebrew word, Chavilah. Thus by Eratosthenes are placed in these parts the Chaulothæi, by Festus Anienus the Chaulosii, by Dionysius Periegetes the Chablasii, and by Pliny the Chavelæi; all retaining in their name most of the radical ^d letters of the word Chavilah. So that from hence may safely be concluded, that this eastern tract of Arabia, lying near and on the bottom of the Persian Gulf, was formerly and in the time of Moses known by the name of Havilah. Hereupon many learned men amongst the modern writers have acknowledged this to be the situation of Havilah, as Steuchus, Beroaldus, Grotius, Hornius, and Bochartus.

10. But yet this is not enough for our purpose. Before we can be assured, that this is that Havilah which was washed by the river Pison, we must be assured also, that there is, or at least formerly was therein *gold*, and that *good gold*; as also that there is or was therein *bdellium* and the *onyx-stone*. And of these particulars we may

Gold, and that good gold, in the land of Havilah, as seated according to our hypothesis.

^d What a radical letter is, see in the Preface.

be well assured without great difficulty. For authors, CHAP. I.
 both sacred and profane, do very much commend the
 gold of Arabia. Diodorus ^e writes, that in Arabia was
 found natural gold, of so lively a colour, that it was very
 much like the brightness of the fire; and so fixed, that
 it wanted neither fire nor refining to purify it. It will
 appear hereafter, that Ezekiel had regard to these parts,
 when he says to the city of Tyre: *The merchants of
 Sheba and Raamah, they were thy merchants: they traded
 in thy fairs with the chief of all spices, and with all
 precious stones, and gold. Haran, and Cannech, and Eden,
 the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad, were thy
 merchants, &c.* Ezek. xxvii. 22, 23. There was a great
 communication between all these nations through the
 Euphrates and the Persian Gulf; and we must parti-
 cularly observe, that the Prophet expressly names Eden
 among the countries or places lying in these eastern
 parts, and some of which lay in the neighbourhood of
 Havilah. So that there being both an Eden and an
 Havilah situated in these easterly parts, there are further
 grounds to conceive, that these were no other than the
 Eden and Havilah mentioned by Moses in the description
 of the situation of the earthly Paradise. Moreover, Arabia
 thus abounding with gold, and that very fine gold, no
 doubt but it very much dealt in it with the neighbouring
 provinces, situated along the Euphrates, which was then
 very populous, if not the most populous country in the
 world: and the province of Havilah, lying between those
 countries, besides the gold of its own, had, we may rea-
 sonably suppose, a great deal also from the neighbouring
 provinces, by the traffic and intercourse of merchants.
 And thus much for the gold of Havilah.

The sacred text informs us, that the same country was 11.
 remarkable for (what is called in Hebrew) *bedolach*, or <sup>The He-
 brew word</sup> (as it is usually rendered) *bdellium*; which word is very *bedolach* is
 variously translated by interpreters. But of all these va- ^{variously} interpreted.

^e Lib. ii. cap. 14. et lib. iii. cap. 3.

PART I. rious opinions, the most probable, and which most divide the learned, are, that which takes *bedolach* for an aromatic gum, and that which takes it for pearls. The place of the book of Numbers, (viz. Numb. xi. 7.) which is wont to be quoted in defence of this last opinion, seems to be so plain and decisive, that no good exception can be made against it. For Moses, intending to describe the manna, says, that it was *like the seed of coriander, and the colour thereof as the colour of bedolach*. Now it is evident from another description of the same manna, which is to be found Exod. xvi. 14. 31. that it was white, (according to the translation of the Seventy Interpreters, and followed, ver. 31. in our common translation,) which is apposite to pearls, as also is the roundness of manna, but in no wise to the *bdellium* gum. Hence it is, that the Talmudists, (as Mons. Bochart ^f has learnedly observed,) mentioning this description of manna, as it is in the book of Numbers, instead of saying, that it was of the colour of *bdellium*, said, that it was of the colour of pearls. But we need take no part in this dispute: it will be enough for our purpose to shew, that whether the Hebrew word *bedolach* be taken for pearls, or for *bdellium* gum, both are to be found in the land of Havilah.

12.
Bedolach,
taken for
pearls, to
be found in
our land of
Havilah.

For, as for pearls, it is most certain, that there is no place in the world, that produceth so fine ones, and in so great a quantity, as the sea about Baharen, an isle in the Persian Gulf, ten leagues off from Catif; that is to say, the sea that lies next the land of Havilah. We shall not load this treatise with a vast number of citations, to shew how great a quantity of pearls there is in the Persian Gulf, and how much they are valued both by ancient and modern authors. Nevertheless, (to borrow Bishop Huet's expression,) that the reader may not think we desire to be trusted for want of money to pay him, we will name some few of those whose authority cannot be excepted against. Nearchus, one of Alexander's cap-

^f Hieroz. part ii. lib. v. c. 5.

tains, that conducted his fleet from the Indies as far as the Persian Gulf, speaks of an island in that Gulf, abounding in pearls of great value. Isidorus^g of Charax, who lived a little after, says the same thing. Pliny^h, having commended the pearls of the Indian seas, adds, that such as are fished towards Arabia in the Persian Gulf, deserve most to be praised. And in another place he takes notice of the island of Tylos, as being the place of that fishing, which many suppose to be the island of Baharen. Arrian, the author of the Periplus of the Red Sea, sets a greater value upon the pearls of Arabia, than upon those of the Indies. Ælianⁱ describes exactly enough, how they were fished, and how much they were valued. Origen^k affirms, that Indian pearls far exceed all others in value, and that amongst all Indian pearls, those of the Red Sea are of the greatest value : by which words we may see, that he made the Persian Sea a part of that of the Indies ; of which more hereafter, when we come to speak of the Red Sea. The Rabbi Benjamin, a Navarrer, who lived five hundred and fifty years ago, being at Catif, informed himself about the fishing of pearls, that is made there every year, and about the manner observed in making of it, and inserted it in the history of his travels, which he has left us. Teixeira a Portuguese, another traveller, has yet more exactly described this fishing. He says, the pearls of that sea are finer and weightier than those of other places. Add hereto the testimony of the other modern travellers, Balby, Linscot, Vincent le Blanc, Tavernier, and Thevenot. Besides the fishing of Baharen, this last writer hath also described that of Carek, another isle in the same gulf, and nearer the land of Havilah. Many other places of this sea afford pearls ; as doth the whole coast of Arabia from Mascate to Catif.

Those that maintain, that *bedolach* is the *bdellium*, a

^g Isidor. Charac. apud Athen. lib. iii.

^h Plin. lib. vi. c. 28. et lib. ix. c. 35.

ⁱ Ælian. de Animal. lib. x. c. 13. et lib. xv. c. 8.

^k Origen in Matt. xiii. 45.

PART I. gum, may also find some in Arabia. Dioscorides^l expressly testifies it; and he sets a greater value upon the

13.
Bedolach,
taken for a
gum, to be
found like-
wise in the
same land
of Havilah.

bdellium of the Saracens, than upon that of the Indies. Isidorus^m and Sylvaticusⁿ are of the same opinion. And Galen^o, comparing the *bdellium* of Arabia with that of Scythia, that is to say, with the *bdellium* of the Indies, (for part of India was called Scythia or Indoscythia,) gives some advantages to the first, which he denies to the second. Pliny^p prefers the *bdellium* of Bactriana to that of Arabia; but he values that of Arabia above all the rest. He will have that tree to grow in the sands of the Persian Gulf, which the flux of the sea covers with its tides; and I do not know, says the learned Bishop Huetius, whether it be not the same, which Strabo^q describes without naming it, upon Nearchus's information, when he says, that it grows in the islands that are before the Euphrates; that it smells as frankincense; and that out of its broken roots drops the sweet-smelling juice. Now let the place of Arabia, from which it came, be which it will, at least a great deal of that, which was to be transported into the countries along the Tigris and Euphrates, and into the rest of the northerly Asia, was carried into the land of Havilah. And upon this account Arrian^r says, there was made a great sale of spices, and all Arabian drugs in the city of Diridotis, which is the same with Teredon, the ruins whereof are yet now to be seen on the confines of the land of Havilah.

14.
Precious
stones, and
particularly
the onyx-
stone, to be
found in
the same
country.

It remains now to speak of the *schoham*, which the sacred text tells us was in Havilah, and which is commonly rendered the *onyx-stone*. A great variety of opinions might be produced, to shew that nothing certain can be affirmed of the stone *schoham*; and so it will be

^l Diosc. lib. 1. c. 77.

^m Isidor. Etym. lib. xvii. c. 8.

ⁿ Sylvat. Pandect. in *bdellium*.

^o Galen. de Simpl. Medic. lib.
vi.

^p Plin. lib. xii. c. 9.

^q Strab. lib. xvi. p. 767. ex edit.
Casaub.

^r Arrian. Indic. p. 357. ex edit.
Gronov.

enough to make it evident, that Arabia was formerly CHAP. I.
 very abounding in precious stones. The first proof shall
 be taken from the place of Ezekiel already quoted;
 where the prophet, among the chiefest commodities that
 came from Sheba and Raamah, places in Arabia on the
 easterly coast, not far from Havilah, and whose inha-
 bitants dealt with the Tyrians, reckons the most precious
 spices, precious stones and gold. Nearchus, who had
 sailed the Persian Gulf, affirmed (as Strabo tells us) that
 there were many islands in that gulf, in which there were
 extraordinary fine precious stones. The same Strabo^s says,
 that the riches of Arabia, which did consist in precious
 stones, and excellent perfumes, (the trade whereof brought
 them a great deal of gold and silver, besides the gold
 of the country itself,) made Augustus to send Ælius
 Gallus thither, in order to make those nations his friends,
 and draw to himself their riches, or to subdue them.
 Diodorus^t describes at large the advantages of Arabia,
 and especially its precious stones. He says, that that
 region affords some of all kinds, that they are very much
 to be valued by reason of the variety and brightness of
 their colours; and he enquires into the natural causes
 of it. Pliny, who employed all his last book in clearing
 this subject, and pretty curiously marketh the countries
 of precious stones, assures us, that those, that are most
 valued, come out of Arabia. Though now they are
 more scarce there than they were then, (for mines
 of precious stones, as well as those of metals, are ex-
 hausted by length of time,) yet travellers, naturalists,
 and lapidaries do still find some here. But after all, if
 any one will restrain the Hebrew word *schoham* to signify
 in this place the onyx-stone, he will have Pliny on his
 side, who says, that the ancients are persuaded, that the
 onyx-stone was no where else to be found but in the
 mountains of Arabia.

^s Strab. lib. xvi. p. 780. ex edit.
 Casaub.

^t Diod. lib. ii. p. 131. et seq. ex
 edit. Rhodomanni.

PART I.

15.
The river
Pison is
that river
or channel
which
washes the
eastern part
of the land
of Havilah,
and so
empties
itself into
the Persian
Gulf.

It appears then, that in the forementioned extremity of Arabia there was a land or country called Havilah, and that there was in the same *gold*, and that *good gold*; as also the *bedolach* and *schoham*, whether they be taken to denote pearls and precious stones in general, or else to denote particularly the *bdellium* gum and the *onyx-stone*. If therefore there can be further found, a river which *encompasses* (i. e. with a winding stream washes) *all* one side of the land of Havilah, and also hath communication with three other rivers by one common channel; we shall then have found, concurring in this place, all the marks whereby Moses describes the river Pison, and therefore need not question, but the river thus washing this land of Havilah, is the very river, to which Moses gives the name of Pison in his description of the Garden of Eden. Now it is evident from the map hereunto belonging, that the channel or river above mentioned, (§. 9. and 10.) as bounding Havilah eastward, and emptying itself into the Persian Gulf, is such a river, having all the forementioned particulars concurring in it; and therefore it may very reasonably be conceived to be the river Pison of Moses.

16.
The same
further
proved
from other
considera-
tions, be-
sides the
marks
given by
Moses; as
first from
its being
the nearest
river to the
place,
where Mo-
ses wrote.

But, though the concurrence of the several marks given by Moses be abundantly sufficient to satisfy us, that we have certainly found out the true Pison, yet we cannot omit one or two other considerations, which are mentioned by the learned Bishop of Soissons, and tend further to confirm this point. It must then be remembered, that Moses (as has been before observed) wrote his history in Arabia Petræa, or some place near adjoining; and consequently of the four rivers he mentions, this channel, as will appear from the sequel of this chapter, was the nearest him; so that natural order required that he should name this first. And by the same consideration may the method, observed by Moses in mentioning the other three, be naturally accounted for, as shall be shewn as we go along.

Again, the etymology or derivation of the word Pison

helps also to distinguish the river so called. For most of CHAP. I.
 the Hebrew grammarians agree, that it is derived, either
 from the verb פוש *pusch*, which signifies, *to run out, to be* 17.
full, to increase, to multiply; or from פשה *pascha*, which Secondly,
 signifies, *to spread itself*; because tides are so violent and from the
 so high at that end of the Persian Gulf, that trenches were etymology
 not a sufficient defence against their irruptions into the or deriva-
 neighbouring grounds, that are very soft and low. So tion of the
 that all that coast is full of lakes, marshy places, and word Pison.
 sands, as Strabo^u observes. In Moses's time then, when
 the industry of men might have as yet opposed nothing
 to those attacks, it is credible the overflowings were
 much greater than they are now. No name therefore
 could be given more suitable to that channel, that was
 apt so often to *overflow*, than the name of Pison. The
 author of the apocryphal book called Ecclesiasticus made
 an allusion to this etymology, where he says of God,
 that *he filleth all with wisdom like the Phison*. Ecclus.
 xxiv. 25.

Lastly, Schickard a German professor, and who under- 18.
 stood extraordinary well the easterly languages and affairs Lastly,
 of the East, seems to have had a glimpse of the truth, from the
 when he^x wrote, that he is sure the Pison is to be looked concurring
 for in Arabia, and that all the rivers of Paradise run into opinions of
 the Persian Gulf, and that their mouths are very near several
 one another. Steuchus speaks yet more expressly of learned
 it, saying, that the Pison comes from the Euphrates, men.
 and runs towards the Arabians of Havilah. Father
 Kircher, in the geographical map he inserted in his de-
 scription of the tower of Babel, describes the running
 of the four rivers, Pison, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates,
 and gives the name of Pison to the same western channel
 as we do. To mention but one writer more, Mons.
 Bochart, who designed to declare his mind more plainly
 and at large upon this point, in his treatise concerning

^u Strab. lib. xvi. p. 767. ex edit. Casaub.

^x In his Commentary on the Tarich of the Kings of Persia.

PART I. the earthly Paradise, leaves us to guess at his opinion, when he says by the by, in his book concerning the beasts of holy Scripture, that the Pison is that branch of the Euphrates, of which Teixeira, in the book of his travels from the Indies into Italy, says, that it runs into the Persian Gulf towards Catif near Baharen. Now Catif is a town on the easterly coast of Arabia, that gave to the Persian Gulf the name of the Elcatif Sea, as it is now called by some. And Baharen is an island of the same Gulf, (as has been before hinted,) about ten leagues off from Catif. So that it may be very probably supposed, that Mons. Borchart looked on the same westerly channel, as we do, to be the Pison. So that there does not lie so much as the objection of novelty against the truth of our opinion. And thus much for the river Pison.

19. Proceed we now to the second river, concerning which Moses says thus: *And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Cush.* Here it may be observed, that Moses has not affixed so many marks on the Gihon, as on the Pison; and that probably for this reason, because the Pison being known, the situation of the Gihon would be much more easily discovered. For the Pison being known to be the first river in respect to the place where Moses was writing; it is but natural to suppose, that the Gihon, as being the second, was the river next to it, and consequently the easterly channel of the two, into which the Euphrates, after its conjunction with the Tigris, is again divided.

20. And that it is so, we shall further make out, by shewing that the mark given by Moses to know the Gihon, does agree to this easterly channel. Moses then marks out the Gihon by telling us, that it is that river, *which compasseth the whole land of Cush.* If then it can be shewn, that the name of Cush did formerly belong to the country washed by the forementioned easterly channel; it will (at least in conjunction with what is else offered) amount to a reasonable proof, that the said easterly channel is the very Gihon mentioned by Moses. To what other provinces the name

The river
Gihon how
described
by Moses.

The land of
Cush, said
by Moses to
be washed
by the Gi-
hon, where
situated.

of Cush did of old appertain, shall be shewn, when we CHAP. I.
 come to speak of the peopling of the world by the three
 sons of Noah and their posterity: it will be sufficient to
 our present purpose, to make out that the country ad-
 joining to the easterly mouth of Euphrates, and which by
 the Greeks and Latins was called Susiana, had formerly
 the name of Cush, and hath it still at present. All the
 journals of travellers do then inform us, that Susiana is
 now called Chuzestan, which carries in it plain footsteps
 of the original word Cush, or, as it is wrote by some, Chus
 or Chuz. Benjamin of Navarre says, that the great pro-
 vince of Elam, whereof Susa is the metropolis, and which
 the Tigris waters, is called so. That province of Elam is
 Elymais, which extends itself as far as the coast of the
 Persian Gulf, at the east of the mouth of the Euphrates.
 The Nubian geographer and some other Arabians call it
 Churestan: but it is probably an oversight of the copiers,
 who did not distinguish the letter *r* from *z* of the Ara-
 bians, which only differ by one point. The inhabitants of
 the land call it absolutely or plainly *Chus*, if we will be-
 lieve Marius Niger^y. The same region is called *Cuthah*
 in the book of Kings, (2 Kings xvii. 24.) according to the
 variety of dialects; and it was partly from thence, that
 Salmanassar transported a colony into Samaria, to fill the
 room of its inhabitants and of the ten tribes, which he
 had turned out and sent into other places. This new
 colony, which was afterwards known under the name of
 Samaritans, kept also the name of its origin, and was
 called the Cutheans. The word *Cuthah* or *Cuth* un-
 doubtedly came from the word *Cush* or *Cus*, the last letter
 of which is often changed by the Chaldeans into a *t* or *th*,
 as Dion^z hath observed. So they said *Theor* for *Sor*, *At-*
tyria for *Assyria*. There are yet many other marks of
 the word *Cush* found in the same province. We find
 there the Cosseans, neighbours to the Uxians, according

^y Mar. Nig. Comm. 5. Geo-
 graph. Asiæ.

^z Dion. Xiphil. Traj. p. 347. ex
 edit. Sylburg.

PART I. to the position of Pliny, Ptolemy, and Arrian^a. Some have imagined, that those Cosseans had given their name to the province of Chuzestan; but it is more true, that both the name of Chuzestan, and that of the Cosseans, come from the same root, to wit, from Cush, and not one from the other. The name of Cissia and of the Cissians came also from thence; being a little province of Susiana, and used sometimes to denote all the Susians. The poet Æschylus^b takes also notice of a city of that name situated in the same land; and, what is remarkable, he does distinguish it by its antiquity. He calls also Memnon's mother (that is to say, Aurora) Cissia; of which more when we come to speak of the city Shusan or Susa. It shall only be here observed, that when the Grecians feigned, that Memnon was the son of Aurora, they meant that he came from the East; according to a common expression of the Hebrew tongue, and very familiar to the Prophets, who call the people of the East, *sons of the East*. Not to add, that many interpreters think, that Nebuchadnezzar or Belshazzar is by Isaiah called, in the same sense, *Lucifer, son of Aurora, or of the morning*.

21. Since then the easterly mouth of the Euphrates does thus agree to the description given by Moses of the Gihon; since it lies exactly the second in order, according to the method taken by Moses for mentioning the four rivers relating to the Garden of Eden; and since the province it washes or runs along the side of, was formerly called Cush; on these considerations we may rest very well satisfied, that the said easterly channel or mouth of the Euphrates (or, which comes to the same, of the Tigris) is the very Gihon described by Moses.

22. Go we on then to the third river, of which Moses writes thus; *And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth before Assyria*. Now the Hebrew word

The river Gihon discovered by the marks given by Moses.

Moses's description of the river Hiddekel.

^a Plin. lib. vi. c. 27. Ptol. lib. vi. c. 3. Tab. 5. Asiæ. Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. vii.

^b Æschyl. Pers. et Choeph. 421. et in Strab. lib. xv. p. 728. ex edit. Casaub.

Hiddekel is by the Seventy Interpreters rendered the Tigris; and that the river, called by Moses Hiddekel, is in truth no other than that river, which by the Greeks and Latins is commonly called Tigris, will appear from the following considerations.

And first, the name of Hiddekel, which Moses gives this river, that of Diglath, which they give it in the Levant or East, and that of Tigris, which the Europeans give it, are one and the same, varied by different nations. This may surprise those, who are ignorant of the art of etymology, which is very useful, if not absolutely necessary in good literature. We shall not stand here to produce authorities from other instances, for the change of the several letters of one of these words into those of the other. It will be sufficient to our purpose, to observe in short, that taking away the aspiration of the word Hiddekel, the word Dekel remained, which the Syrians disguised, and made Diklat out of it: Josephus and the Chaldæan paraphrasts, the Arabians and the Persians turned it into Diglath; other modern orientals into Degil and Degola; Pliny, or those who informed him, into Diglito; and the Greeks, who gave to all strange words the turn and genius of their own tongue, instead of Diglis called it Tigris; induced probably so to do, by the information they had received of the swiftness of this river, which was aptly denoted by the name Tigris. And this is the more likely, because we meet with other instances of the same nature, as not only will appear by and by in reference to the name of the river Euphrates, but has also been formerly observed (in the first part of my Geography of the New Testament) in reference to the name of the holy city Jerusalem, turned by the Greeks into Hierosolyma. But that the Diglito and Tigris is but one and the same river, is clear from Pliny^c; only he is mistaken, when he says, that the Tigris is called Diglito at the beginning of its stream, when it runs slowly, but is called Tigris, when it be-

23.
The river
Hiddekel is
the same as
the river
Tigris;
which is
proved first
from the
true etymo-
logy of the
word Ti-
gris.

^c Plin. lib. vi. c. 27.

PART I. comes swifter. For it is called Tigris at the very head, as Strabo assures us; and the names of Tigris and Diglito are in reality but one and the same name, varied according to the diversity of dialects or languages, as has been shewn.

24. Secondly, the method observed by Moses in reckoning up the four rivers further proves, that the Hiddekel is no other than the Tigris. For, as in respect of the place where Moses was writing, the Pison was the nearest to him, and so in natural order was to be named first; and then the Gihon second, as being the channel that presented itself next: so having passed over this channel or river, and turning to the left hand, to come back to the place where Moses was writing, we meet with the Tigris in the third place; which therefore it was but natural for Moses to mention third, and which therefore we need not doubt but is the same with the Hiddekel mentioned third by the sacred historian.

25. Lastly, the mark, whereby Moses describes the situation of the Hiddekel, does plainly confirm, that it is the same with the Tigris. For Moses describes its situation thus; *That is it which goes before Assyria.* The word Assyria may be taken, either properly to denote only that one province, which was first so called, and whereof Nineveh was the capital city; or else in a larger sense, so as to comprehend many great provinces belonging to the kings of Assyria, and which made up the Assyrian empire. The word was not taken in the latter or larger sense, till long after Moses, who therefore could understand by the name of Assyria, only a small province about Nineveh. Now the river Tigris does run along *before Assyria* so taken, and considered in respect of the place where Moses was writing: insomuch that going from the parts where Moses was, directly to Assyria, there is no coming into it without crossing first the Tigris, as running along *before* it, or running along *on that side of Assyria* which lay next to the parts where Moses wrote. Wherefore the peculiar mark, whereby Moses points out the situation of the Hid-

dekel, thus exactly agreeing to the Tigris, it seems past all doubt, that the former is the very same river with the latter. It is true, that the clause, wherein the situation of the Hiddekel is described by Moses, is rendered in our Bible-translation otherwise than I have rendered it, namely thus; *That is it which goes toward the east of Assyria*, or, as it is in the margin of our Bible, *eastward to Assyria*. And though even in this sense the description may be capable of being somewhat tolerably accommodated to the Tigris, yet the other sense is much to be preferred, as being more agreeable to the plain or primary import of the Hebrew word, and so followed by that great Hebrician, Arias Montanus. And not only so, but the Seventy Interpreters also, and the authors of the Vulgar Latin and Syriac translation, render the Hebrew word, *over against* or *along the side* of Assyria, not restraining it to the eastern side.

We are now come to the last of the four rivers, which Moses only names, without affixing any mark of distinction on it; and that for these two reasons, partly because the three other being discovered and known, this last could not but be easily known also; partly because its largeness and neighbourhood rendered it sufficiently known in the places and amongst the nations to whom he wrote. On these considerations, Moses only tells us in short, that *the fourth river is Perath, or Euphrates*. For the Grecians changed Perath into Euphrates, adjusting this word, as well as other strange words, to the genius of their own tongue; and at the same time probably alluding to the pleasantness^d, or at least fruitfulness, of the adjacent country, washed by the said river, and thought to be rendered so pleasant or fruitful by the waters thereof. Or possibly, not minding any such thing, they made Euphrates out of Perath, as out of Tabor they made Ataby-

26.

Of the
fourth
river, the
Euphrates.

^d The Greek word *εὐφραίνω* signifies *to rejoice*, or *to make fruitful*; agreeable to the Latin expression, *lætum facere*. Whence

Virgil in his first book of Georgics,

Quid lätas faciat segetes—

PART I. rius. We shall only observe further, that this river was naturally the fourth in order, according to the method followed by Moses in naming the four rivers relating hereto; and that both it and the Tigris join together into one channel, which is afterwards divided again into two channels, the westerly one of the two being the river Pison, the easterly one the river Gihon.

27. The country of Edén was situated on the common channel of the four rivers. Having thus discovered the four rivers mentioned by Moses, in reference to the earthly Paradise, or Garden of Eden, it will be not difficult to assign the very situation of the country of Eden, wherein God planted the Garden of Paradise. For it is evident, from the words of Moses, that it lay on the single channel, which is common to all the four rivers. For the sacred text says, that *a river went out of Eden, to water the Garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.* Which words manifestly imply, that in Eden the river was but one, that is, that it was but a single channel; but *from thence*, i. e. out of Eden, *it was parted, and became four heads.*

28. In what sense the river of Eden may be said to become four heads. The Hebrew word ראשִׁים *rashim*, which is rendered in our translation *heads*, is, by the Seventy Interpreters, rendered ἀρχαί, *beginnings*; and so the word is elsewhere used in holy writ. Either signification is applicable enough to the subject before us. For if it be taken in the former sense, then the sacred text may denote, that the single river, which was in Eden, out of it was divided into *four heads*, or *principal channels*; by this expression excluding some smaller or otherwise less considerable channels, as being not the old, main, natural streams, but made afterwards by the industry of man. For that there were such made canals in these parts, is certain; and it is not certain, but some of them might be made afore the time of Moses. Of the several channels, that did or do now carry the water of the Euphrates into the Tigris, it is supposed by learned men, that that only, which runs where stood the great city of Babylon, is natural.

29. In what sense the Hebrew If the original word be taken in its other sense, then the great river or single common channel, with its four

branches, must be considered, not in respect to the running of its waters, but in respect to its own disposition. And it would be very properly spoken, to say of one, who coming out of the garden had taken boat on this river, that having sailed a while, he came to the *beginning* or *entry* of the Euphrates, or Tigris; or (on the other side) of the Pison or Gihon. The river or single channel must be looked upon as an highway, crossing over a forest, and which may be said from thence to divide itself into four ways, whether the division be made above or below the forest.

CHAP. I.

word is rendered by the Seventy Interpreters.

What has been said might well suffice to shew, that, according to the marks given by Moses, the country of Eden, wherein God planted the Garden of Paradise, did lie upon the river or single channel, which is common to the four rivers so often mentioned; and that on both sides of it.

30.

The fore-mentioned situation of the country of Eden is confirmed by further considerations, viz. first, from 2 Kings xix. 12. and Isa. xxxvii. 12.

But, besides the marks given by Moses, there are some other considerations, which tend to prove that the country of Eden, referred to by Moses, was seated in the parts we assign it. We read in 2 Kings xix. 12. and Isaiah xxxvii. 12. that Sennacherib King of Assyria designing to terrify Hezekiah, who had rebelled against him, boasts that he had destroyed the countries of Gozan, of Haran, of Rezeph, and of the children of Eden which were in Telassar. The learned agree, that Gozan is the Gauzanitis, a province in Mesopotamia; that Haran and Rezeph are Charrae and Resciphia, two cities in the same land of Mesopotamia; that Telassar is Talatha, a city in Babylonia, placed by Ptolemy at the bottom of the common channel above mentioned; and consequently that the Eden here mentioned is the same country where Moses placed Paradise, extending itself from Mesopotamia; or the joining of the Euphrates and Tigris as far as to Telassar, or the parting of the foresaid united streams again into two other streams, called the rivers of Pison and Gihon. For when it is said in the forecited texts, that Sennacherib destroyed the children of Eden that were in Telassar, thereby is

PART I. plainly denoted, that Telassar lay within the borders of Eden; and therefore Telassar or Talatha being placed by Ptolemy just above the parting of the Pison and Gihon, the province of Eden must extend likewise as low as that.

31. But there is still one more sign, which will help us in some degree to distinguish and know the situation of the earthly Paradise. Such is the fruitfulness of the country, and the goodness of its soil, which seems still to keep some remainders of that blessing God poured upon it: for that plentifulness was partly natural, and partly supernatural. Moses informs us, that God, in order to make Paradise, *caused to grow out of the ground, every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food*, Gen. ii. 9. And in another place, (Gen. xiii. 10.) having a mind to express the pleasantness and fertility of the soil of Sodom before its desolation, he compares it to *the Garden of the Lord*; whether he only meant a garden of an extraordinary beauty, according to an Hebraism very ordinary in the sacred writ, as some think; or the earthly Paradise, according to the most common opinion. But besides the ornaments, wherewith the hand of God did adorn the terrestrial Paradise in an extraordinary manner, we cannot reasonably think, that God should make choice of a barren and unfruitful soil, wherein to plant the Garden of Paradise, rather than of a country, which, considered only in its own natural state, is fruitful and pleasant. Now not only Mesopotamia and Coelesyria, but also Babylonia, (which extended itself to the Persian Gulf,) and a good part of Syria, were formerly esteemed the most pleasant and fruitful countries in the world. And to keep to the country of Eden, beginning at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates, (which is near the city of Apamea, according to Ptolemy,) and so going downwards towards the Persian Gulf, the country on each side is every way as beautiful and fertile as any other country in Asia. We do not say, that those delights are found there, which the hand of God did spread to form Paradise; nor all those that the labour of men can

procure: but we say, that the soil is extraordinary good, CHAP. I.
and that nature hath made it capable of all kind of cul-
ture; though it be true, that it very seldom rains there,
and that its plentifulness is merely owing to the goodness
of its soil, and to the river that waters it. This we learn
both from the old and new historians and geographers;
modern travellers particularly assuring us, that the Grand
Seignior has no better country, than that which lies be-
twixt Bagdat and Bassora; that is, in the country for-
merly called Eden. And if there be some parts thereof,
which lie now untilled and barren, it must be imputed to
the want of people there at present, or else to the idleness
of the inhabitants.

Having by the concurrence of all the marks laid down 32.
by Moses, and also by other considerations already men-
tioned, (to which some more will be still added, as we
proceed,) put it beyond all rational doubt, that the coun-
try of Eden referred to by Moses did lie on the river or
single channel so frequently mentioned, it necessarily fol-
lows, that the Garden of Paradise did lie on the same
river. For the sacred text expressly tells us, that *God*
planted the said Garden in Eden, and also that *the river* or
single channel *did water the said Garden*.

The terres-
trial Para-
dise was
seated in
the foresaid
country of
Eden, and
on the ri-
ver, or com-
mon chan-
nel.

It is next to be considered, whether Moses has not 33.
given us some intimation, in what *part* of the said *country*
of Eden the terrestrial Paradise was planted. And this he
may be probably thought to have done, by his telling us,
that God planted the Garden *eastward* in Eden. It is true
indeed, that it is not certainly to be determined, whether
Moses would, by the expression *eastward*, only give us to
understand, that Paradise was easterly in respect to him-
self, when he was writing, and in respect to the promised
Land; or whether he meant, that it was in the easterly
part of the land of Eden. But Moses having said, that
Paradise was planted in the *land of Eden*, and this being
so near Arabia Petræa, where probably the Israelites then
were; as they could not be well ignorant of its situation,
it seems to have been sufficient to have said, that *Paradise*

The Gar-
den of Eden
was planted
in the east-
erly part of
the land of
Eden.

PART I. *was in the land of Eden*, to let them know, that it was *easterly* in regard to the place they were then in, and to the promised Land. Wherefore it remains, that Moses, by saying the Garden was planted *eastward* in Eden, designed to mark out to them, in what *part* or *place* of the land of Eden Paradise was seated. And indeed it seems not likely, that Moses, having undertaken to describe exactly the situation of this Garden, (of which he in the series of his narrative gives so precise and uniform marks,) after he had said, that it stood *in the land of Eden*, should neglect to express the *part* of that land, wherein it stood. Seeing then Paradise lay in the *easterly part* of the land of Eden, and the river that watered it ran through that province, before it entered into Paradise; it must necessarily follow, that Paradise was situated on one of the turnings of this river, that goes from west to east, and probably at the easterly end of the southerly branch of the lowest great turning, taken notice of in Ptolemy, and expressed in the map hereunto belonging.

34. I proceed to observe, that it is rationally conceived, that the Garden of Eden was the original of those curious gardens, which the princes of the East caused to be made, and by which they would represent the Garden of Eden. Such an one was that golden garden valued at five hundred talents, which Aristobulus King of the Jews presented unto Pompey, and which Pompey afterward carried in triumph, and consecrated unto Jupiter in the capitol. This garden was called *τερπωλή* and *τερπνόν*, which in strictness of speech is Eden, *pleasure*. And it is observable, that the conformity between the very words, Garden of Eden, and Garden of Adon, seems to shew, that to the Garden of Eden was owing the rise of those gardens consecrated to Adonis, which the Greeks, Egyptians, and Assyrians planted in earthen vessels and silver baskets, to adorn their houses withal, and to carry them about in their processions: though mythologists have by their fictions obscured the truth of the matter, and do refer the original of the Gardens of Adonis to those lettuces,

The Garden of Eden was the original of the curious gardens of the princes of the East, and of the poetical fictions concerning the Fortunate Isles, the Elysian Fields, the Gardens of the Hesperides, &c.

wherein Venus put his body newly killed. In short, there is no doubt to be made, but the Garden of Eden planted by the hand of God, and that, in some respects, in a supernatural manner, hath been the pattern, out of which the poets have formed their Fortunate Islands, the Elysian Fields, the Meadows of Pluto, the Gardens (not only of Adonis already mentioned, but also) of the Hesperides, of Jupiter, and Alcinous.

What we have to add further in reference to the situation of the country and Garden of Eden, falls in with what we have to offer concerning the situation of the land of Nod, and the city of Enoch. The learned Bishop of Soissons has observed, that Ptolemy, in the description of Susiana, places there a city called Anuchtha; and also that the syllable *tha*, which endeth that word, is a termination pretty ordinary to the feminine nouns in the Chaldee tongue, and so is no part of the name itself. It then only remains Anuch, which is without difficulty the same as Enoch, or, as it is more agreeable to the Hebrew word, Anoch. And from hence the learned person afore mentioned infers, that this Anuchtha, mentioned by Ptolemy, is the same with the city of Enoch, mentioned by Moses; especially since Anuchtha is by Ptolemy placed on the east of Eden, which agrees very well to what Moses saith of the land of Nod, wherein the city of Enoch was built, namely, that it was on the east of Eden, Gen. iv. 16.

35.
Of the city
of Enoch,
and the
learned
Huetius's
opinion
concerning
its situa-
tion.

Now, though this conjecture seems very plausible, in-
somuch that I could not at first but readily embrace it;
yet upon further deliberation there appeared some diffi-
culty, which seems to make the truth of it questionable,
and which in the upshot would not give me leave to ac-
quiesce in the foresaid conjecture. For, first, though
Anuchtha be no other than the city of Enoch, or Anoch;
yet it is far from being certain, that there was no other
city of that name, but that which was built by Cain, and
called so by him from his son Enoch, or Anoch. It is
most certain, that there was another Enoch, or Anoch, be-
sides the son of Cain; namely, the son of Jared, and fa-

36.
Difficulties,
which at-
tend Hue-
tius's opi-
nion.

PART I. ther of Methuselah, a person most remarkable for his piety in the antediluvian ages; insomuch that Moses particularly says of him, that he *walked with God, and was not; for God took him*: Gen. v. 18, 21, 24. By which words is to be understood, as we learn from Heb. xi. 5. that this *Enoch was translated that he should not see death*. It is then possible, not to say probable, that the city, mentioned by Ptolemy, might take its name from Enoch, not the son of Cain, but the son of Jared, and a descendant of Seth, the brother of Cain; and that it might be so named from him in respect to the illustrious character he bore for his piety, this being a very ancient and usual way of paying a veneration to the memory of persons. At least, it might take its name from some other Enoch or Anoch, different from both the former, and living many generations after; namely, after the Flood. And indeed, from the consideration of the Flood there do arise some objections, which make it still more questionable, whether the Anuchtha of Ptolemy could be the city of Enoch built before the Flood; or at least could be known to be the same, and so could retain, even after the Flood, the name it had before.

37. But there is still behind another consideration, which weighs most with me, as overthrowing what seems most to favour the learned Huetius's opinion. For he especially observes, that the Anuchtha, so often mentioned, is placed by Ptolemy on the east of Eden, exactly agreeable to the situation of the land of Nod according to the sacred text, Gen. iv. 16. But the word there rendered, *on the east*, is the very same, which is also rendered by some after the same manner, in the description Moses gives of the course of the Hiddekel or Tigris. Which interpretation, as the learned Huetius rejects in that place relating to the river Hiddekel, so he should likewise reject in this place relating to the land of Nod: because it may be fairly presumed, that Moses used the word in the same sense in both places. Hereupon the Seventy Interpreters judged it but reasonable to keep the same interpretation in both texts,

The greatest objection against Huetius's opinion.

and accordingly rendered the original word, in this place, CHAP. I.
as in the former, by the Greek word denoting, *over-against*,
or *on the side of Eden*, not restraining it to the *eastern side*
any more than to the *western*. And on the same account
Arias Montanus also in his version renders the Hebrew
word, (as in relation to the course of the Hiddekel, so) in
reference to the situation of the land of Nod, by the same
Latin word, denoting *before*; which, as I have above ob-
served, I take with him to be the plain and primary im-
port of the original word.

This being so, what the learned Huetius in other cases
particularly, and that reasonably too, insists upon, must
likewise be remembered in the case before us; namely,
that Moses in penning his history had regard to the place
where he penned it. Whence it follows, that when
Moses saith, that *the land of Nod lay before Eden*, he must
thereby be reasonably understood to mean, that it lay *be-
fore Eden* in respect of the place where he was writing,
and consequently *on the west of Eden*, namely, between
Eden and the parts of Arabia Petræa, or else the parts of
Syria adjoining to the Lacus Asphaltites, or Dead Sea.

On these considerations I cannot but incline to the opi-
nion of the learned Grotius, who supposes Cain to have
been doomed by God to withdraw into the deserts of Ara-
bia, which joins on to Eden westward, and so properly lay
before Eden, in respect to the place where Moses wrote.
Indeed, since one part of Cain's punishment was banish-
ment, and since, banishment being designed as a punish-
ment, it is more proper, and so more usual, for persons ba-
nished to be sent, not into a pleasant and fruitful country,
as is Susiana, wherein Ptolemy places Anuchtha, but into
some unpleasant and unfruitful country; these considera-
tions do, I think, much favour the opinion of Grotius, that
Arabia Deserta was the country, into which Cain was
sentenced to withdraw. And to the barrenness of this
part of Arabia may perhaps appertain the curse pro-
nounced by God against Cain, Gen. iv. 11, 12. *And now
art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth*

38.
Grotius's
opinion
concerning
the land of
Nod.

PART I. *to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand. When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength.* In short, if the reader sees cause to prefer Gro-
 tius's opinion, then he must of consequence look on the
 land of Nod to be Arabia Deserta, or at least to be seated
 therein, and so to be part of it. If he prefers Huetius's
 opinion, that the Anuchtha mentioned by Ptolemy is the
 same with the city of Enoch built by Cain, then he must
 of consequence look on the land of Nod to be seated in
 Susiana.

39. I shall only observe further, that as to the name itself,
 there are no remainders of it to be found. Indeed it is
 not certain, that the word Nod should be taken for a pro-
 per name: nay, it is actually rendered by some inter-
 preters as an appellative, denoting *a fugitive*, or *one that*
is banished, which very well expresses the condition
 wherein Cain was, as appears from Gen. iv. 12. 14. *A fu-*
gitive shalt thou be, &c. In a word, it is not to be doubted,
 but, if the word Nod is to be understood as a proper
 name, the land of Nod was so called, as being the land
 wherein *the fugitive Cain* lived.

40. And thus much for the places of the antediluvian earth,
 mentioned in sacred history.

The con-
 clusion.

CHAP. II.

Of the Mountains of Ararat, whereon the Ark of Noah rested, upon the abating of the Flood: together with some considerations concerning the Place where the Ark was made, the Wood it was made of, and the Form it was made in.

THE short account of the antediluvian world, given in the six first chapters of Genesis, is followed, in the seventh and eighth chapters of the same book, with an account of the Deluge or Flood: upon the abating whereof the sacred historian tells us, that *the Ark rested upon the mountains of Ararat*, Gen. viii. 4. It is therefore to be enquired, which are the mountains of Ararat; and then, in what particular place of the said mountains the Ark did so rest.

As to the first query, it may not be unuseful to take notice, in the first place, of a palpable error, concerning the situation of these mountains, which occurs in some verses, which go under the name of Sibylline Oracles. There we are told, that the mountains of Ararat lay in Phrygia; which is no ways reconcileable to the sacred text. The learned Bochart has happily light on the ground of this mistake; which arose in all likelihood from the situation of a city in Phrygia, called Apamea Cibotus. The word Cibotus is a Greek word, denoting in that language *an Ark*; and it is the very same word, which the Seventy Interpreters make use of to denote the Ark of Noah. Now from the city Apamea having the surname of Cibotus given it, the author of those verses (falsely attributed to the Sibyls) inferred, that the Ark of Noah rested there on an adjoining hill, and that this was the occasion, that gave the surname of Cibotus to Apamea. But the inference is by no means conclusive, forasmuch as there might be other reasons for imposing that

1.

Noah's Ark, upon the abating of the flood, rested on the mountains of Ararat.

2.

The rise of the error, that the mountains of Ararat were in Phrygia, near the city Apamea, sur-named Cibotus.

PART I. surname on the city forementioned, namely this, (as is observed by the learned Bochart,) that the city was inclosed in the shape of an Ark by three rivers that surround it. In like manner, the same learned person observes, that the port of Alexandria was called Cibotus from the bay that environed it.

3. **The mountains of Ararat lay in Armenia.** Let us now proceed to discover the true mountains of Ararat. It is then, I think, universally agreed by the learned, that the word Ararat does in the sacred Scriptures denote the country called by the Greeks, and from them by other western nations, Armenia. Whence the most received opinion is this, that the mountains of Ararat amount to the same as the mountains of Armenia, and so lie within the country of Armenia.

4. **Some will have the mountains of Ararat to extend beyond Armenia.** But some contend, that though Ararat be taken in Scripture to denote Armenia, yet the mountains of Ararat may extend^a beyond the country of Ararat. That mighty ridge of mountains, which, beginning in the Lesser Asia, runs as far as the Old India, (now-a-days called the East Indies,) by the ancients commonly called Mount Taurus, might very well, say these, be called by Moses the mountains of Ararat, because that was the first country of the Greater Asia, by which they passed, and where they were of greater note than they had been formerly. Just as some hills with us in England are called Malvern hills, because they are highest near that village, though they extend themselves into other lordships. Hence the favourers of this opinion do not scruple to extend the mountains of Ararat as far as to Mount Caucasus, in the confines of Tartary, Persia, and India.

5. **Two opinions concerning the part of the mountains of Ararat, where the Ark rested.** Having laid before the reader the two opinions, which divide the learned, as to the situation of the mountains of Ararat themselves, I proceed now to shew, in *what part* of these mountains the Ark of Noah is supposed to have rested, according to each opinion. And from what is

^a See Heylin's Cosmogr. p. 78. edit. A. D. 1665.

alleged on both sides as to this matter, the judicious CHAP. II.
reader will be able to infer, which opinion is best
grounded, and therefore preferable.

As to that opinion, which takes the mountains of ^{6.}
Ararat to be situated within the country of Ararat or ^{One opi-}
Armenia, the followers of it (some very few excepted) ^{nion is,}
do agree, that the Ark of Noah rested in that part of ^{that the}
the mountains of Ararat, which in Greek and Latin ^{Ark rested}
writers is styled the Gordiæan mountains, (or, with some ^{on the}
variation, the mountains of the Cordyæi, Cordueni, Car- ^{Gordiæan}
duchi, Curdi, &c.) and which lies near the spring of the ^{Mountains.}
Tigris, at most not very far from it. For the proof
hereof many testimonies of the ancients might be brought,
some of which tell us, that the relicks of the Ark were
in that place; and also that in the neighbourhood there
was a town called Cemain or Thamana, so called from
those eight persons, which came out of the Ark; for
the Hebrew word for eight is שֵׁמֶן *shemen*; as also that
the very place, where the said persons came out of the
Ark, was by the Armenians distinguished by a word im-
porting the same, as by a proper name. Further, it is
probably supposed, that Noah built the Ark in the coun-
try of Eden, (of which more anon;) and since the Deluge
was not only caused by rains, but also by the overflowing
of the ocean, as the Scripture tells us, Gen. vii. 11. saying,
that *the fountains of the great deep were broken up*; this
overflowing, which came from the Persian Sea, running
from the south, and meeting the Ark, of course carried
it away to the north towards the Gordiæan Mountains.
And the learned and ingenious Bishop Huetius has ob-
served, that, considering the figure of the Ark, which
made it not so fit for speedy sailing, and also its heaviness,
which made it draw much water, the space of an hundred
and fifty days, which was the time the Deluge lasted, was
but a proportionable time for the moving of the Ark,
from the place where it was made, to the Gordiæan
Mountains. So that both the situation of these moun-
tains in respect to the course of the waters of the Deluge,

PART I. and also its distance from the place where Noah lived and built the Ark, do jointly conspire to render this hypothesis still more probable.

7. **According to the other opinion, the Ark rested on the top of Mount Caucasus, in the confines of Tartary, Persia, and India.** Let us now see, what place for the resting of the Ark is assigned by those, who will have the mountains of Ararat to extend beyond the country of Ararat or Armenia; and that is the top of Mount Caucasus in the confines of Tartary, Persia, and India. Among the arguments made use of for this opinion, the chief both in authority and weight is acknowledged, by ^b some of its defenders, to be that which is drawn from the sacred text, Gen. xi. 2. where it is said, that, *as they went from the East, they found a plain in the land of Shinaar, and they dwelt there.* If then they came from the East, as the text plainly says, it might well be, that they came from those parts of Asia on the south of Caucasus, which lie east of Shinaar, though somewhat bending to the north; but it is impossible, say the defenders of this last opinion, that they should come from the Gordiæan Mountains in the Greater Armenia, which lie not only full north of Shinaar, but many degrees to the west. To this is added an old and constant tradition among the inhabitants of the region near Caucasus, formerly called Margiana, that a great vineyard in this country was of Noah's planting, after that he was descended from the adjacent mountain, according to what we read, Gen. ix. 20.

8. **The former opinion seems the most probable; and as such is generally received.** Such are the two opinions concerning the place, where Noah's Ark rested; and such are, at least, the chief arguments, on which each is founded. The reader sees, that each lays claim to a tradition, as one of its supports. It is then to be considered, which tradition carries in it greatest evidence, as to matter of fact. Taking it for granted, that there was such a vineyard in Margiana, as is mentioned by one side; yet this will by no means amount to an evident, or indeed any proof, that the

^b See Heylin's Cosm. p. 7.

Ark rested in the neighbouring mountain of Caucasus, CHAP. II.
because that the said vineyard might have been planted
by another beside Noah. But, supposing it true, that
in the more early ages of the world, after the Flood,
there were to be seen on the Gordiæan Mountains the
remainders of a large vessel, which by the make of them
might reasonably be conjectured to have been relicks of
the Ark; this seems to carry in it some good evidence,
that the Ark rested there; because it cannot be well
conceived, why any such vessel should have been built
there, or how it should have come thither, if not built
there, but by the waters of the Flood. Again, since
the Ark is reasonably supposed to have been built some-
where in Eden, or the parts adjoining, (of which more
by and by), it is to be considered, whether Mount Cau-
casus is not at too great a distance for such a vessel,
as the Ark was, to be carried to, in the space of the
flood's rising. Further, it is to be considered, that the
waters of the Ocean, breaking in upon the land in these
parts from the south, must naturally carry the Ark
northward; whereas the place of Mount Caucasus as-
signed for that, which the Ark rested on, is not only
further northward, but also a great deal more eastward,
than that of the Gordiæan Mountains is westward, in
respect of the place whence the Ark was carried. Fur-
ther, it may be rationally conjectured, that the waters of
the Caspian Sea, as well as of the main Ocean, did at
that time overflow; and therefore ran from the Caspian
Sea itself, as otherways, so southwards and eastwards;
and consequently by their thus running must naturally
keep off the Ark from coming to Mount Caucasus, at
least that part of it, where the Ark is said to have
rested. This will clearly appear to any one, that views
the situation of the Caspian Sea, and the forementioned
part of Mount Caucasus in the map hereunto belonging,
or any other of the same parts. But now the overflowing
of the Caspian Sea, from the north or north-east, meeting
with the overflowing of the Ocean from the south, would

PART I. give some resistance thereto, and thereby retard the motion of the Ark, and so make it move more slowly northward than otherwise it would have done; and not only so, but would also, as coming from the north-east, naturally turn the motion of the Ark somewhat westward, and so as it were tend to direct it to the Gordiæan Mountains. So far is the westerly situation of these mountains from being an argument against the Ark's resting thereon; whereas the situation of Mount Caucasus near the Caspian Sea makes it truly impossible (without a miracle or supernatural means; which the divine wisdom thinks not fit to make use of, where there is no necessity,) for the Ark to have been brought thither, upon the supposition of the overflowing of the Caspian Sea, which seems to be no other than what reason requires to be supposed. Once more, if the Malvern Hills, though they extend themselves into other lordships, are so called, because they are highest near that village; then in parity of reason it is to be supposed, that the mountains of Ararat, though they extend themselves to other countries besides Ararat or Armenia, yet were so called, because they were highest in Ararat or Armenia. And if so, then it is most likely, that the Ark rested in Armenia; because it is most likely, not to say plain, from Scripture, that the Ark rested on the highest part of the mountains of Ararat. As for the objection hereto drawn from Gen. xi. 2. it will be shewn then to be of no force, when we come to speak of the land of Shinaar. Upon the whole, therefore, the former opinion, that the Ark rested on the Gordiæan Mountains, is most probable; and, as such, is most generally received.

9. To what has been offered concerning the mountains of Ararat, whereon the Ark rested, it will perhaps be not unacceptable to the reader, to add somewhat concerning the *place* or country, wherein the Ark is probably conjectured to have been made by Noah; though the said place is no where so much as mentioned in Scripture. It is then probable, that when Adam and Eve were turned

The place where the Ark was made, was probably in the land of Eden.

out of the Garden of Eden, they were still permitted to continue in the country of Eden. And it is further probable, that upon the increase of mankind, though other families were obliged to move off into other parts, yet the eldest son always remained where the first settlement was made, namely, in the country of Eden. Whence it rationally follows, that Noah, as being the eldest son in a lineal descent from Seth, did live in the said country; and consequently that there it was that he built the Ark. And this opinion is further confirmed, not only from the situation of this country in respect to the Ocean, whence the waters of the Flood chiefly came, and in respect to the mountains of Ararat, whither by the said waters the Ark was carried; but also from the testimonies of ancient writers, and likewise from the sort of wood, of which the Ark was made.

The wood is in Scripture called Gopher-wood, Gen. vi. 14. What sort of wood this is, the learned Fuller, our countryman, seems to have been very happy in his conjecture. He has observed, that from the Greek word *κυπάρισσος*, *cyparissus*, take away the termination, and there will remain *κύπαρ*, *cypar*, which has all the radical letters of the word *gopher*, and differs but little from it in sound. Now, as from the Hebrew word *גִּפְרִי*, *gopher*, is derived the Greek word *κυπάρισσος*, *cyparissus*, so from this is derived the Latin word *cypressus*, and from it our English word *cypress*; so that by what is called *gopher-wood* in Scripture, we may reasonably understand what we call *cypress-wood*. Nor is the opinion of our learned and ingenious countryman founded barely on etymology, but it is also confirmed by other considerations. As first, that cypress is a very lasting or durable wood, not apt to breed worms or rot. This is taken notice of by several authors: I shall here insert but one passage observed by the learned Bochart, which occurs in the second book of Thucydides, where mention is made of *λάρνακες κυπαρίσσινας*, *cypress-arks*, or *coffins*, wherein the Athenians were wont to put the bones of those that

10.
Gopher-wood, of which the Ark was made, probably the same commonly called Cypress-wood.

PART I. died in the wars for their country. And the Scholiast observes upon the place, that the said boxes or coffins were made of cypress, because it was not liable to rot. Now, upon this account it is very likely that the Ark of Noah was made of the same wood; forasmuch as some relicks of it remained for several thousand years after, as is attested by a great number of ancient writers. Secondly, the cypress-wood is not only durable, but (which makes more for our purpose) fit for shipping. Testimonies hereof are cited by the learned Bochart out of Plato, Plutarch, Vegetius, &c. Lastly, Babylonia and the parts adjoining did abound with cypress. Hence the fleet of Alexander the Great, that was made at Babylon, was made all of it of cypress-wood; as we learn from the historian Arrianus; who adds, that there was in those parts want of other wood fit for shipping. But now it has been above shewn, that the country of Eden lay in Babylonia and the parts adjoining, on the other side of the common channel of the Euphrates and Tigris; whence those considerations do mutually strengthen one the other; namely, the Ark being made of gopher or cypress-wood strengthens the opinion, that it was made in the country of Eden, and consequently, that Noah lived there afore the Flood; and on the other hand, the probability (on other accounts above mentioned) of Noah's living in Eden before the Flood, does add strength to the opinion, that the Ark was made of gopher-wood.

11. Having acquainted the reader with the probable conjectures there are, both concerning the *place* where, and the *wood* of which the Ark of Noah was made; I shall add in the last place some observations of the learned and ingenious Bishop Wilkins, concerning the *structure* or *figure* of the Ark, and its suitableness to the end, for which the Ark was built. Concerning the structure of the Ark Moses gives us this account, Gen. vi. 15, 16. *This is the fashion thou shalt make it of: the length of the Ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits. A window shalt*

The structure or make of the Ark, and its capacity to receive all the creatures said to be therein contained, with other necessities.

thou make to the Ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it CHAP. II.

above; and the door of the Ark shalt thou set in the side thereof: with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it. Now Bishop Wilkins agrees with Buteo (who had before wrote a particular tract of the Ark) in supposing the cubit here mentioned to have been a foot and a half long. According to which proportion, the length of the Ark was four hundred and fifty feet, the breadth seventy-five feet, and the height forty-five. So that the Ark was six times as long as it was broad; and ten times as long as it was high; and the whole capacity thereof was four hundred and fifty thousand solid (or cubical) cubits; or one

million five hundred and eighteen thousand seven hundred and fifty cubical feet: which

was space abundantly enough to contain all that was to be contained in the Ark. For

it appears from the sacred text, that the

Ark consisted of three stories; and the whole height of the Ark being thirty cubits or forty-five feet, it may be well supposed, that the height was equally

divided among the three stories; and so each story was ten cubits or fifteen feet high, only deducting one cubit, or a foot and a half, for the slope of the roof or cover of the upper story. It is also rationally agreed among interpreters, that the lowest story was allotted to four-footed animals, as most commodious for them; the middle story for their provender, or what they were to live upon; and the upper story, partly to birds and what they were to eat,

	Cubits	Feet.
Multiply	50	75
by	6	6
Product	300	450

	Cubits	Feet.
Multiply	30	45
	10	10
	300	450

	Cubits	Feet.
Multiply length	300	450
by breadth	50	75
Product	15000	33750
Mult. by height	30	45
Capacity	450000	1518750
Solid cubits		Cubical feet.

PART I. and partly to Noah and his family, together with their utensils. Now, that each story was spacious enough to receive what was to be put therein according to the fore-mentioned order, may be clearly demonstrated after this manner.

12.
The parti-
culars con-
tained in
the follow-
ing table.

In the first place there shall be exhibited a table, wherein shall be comprehended these following particulars.

1. The several *sorts* of *four-footed* animals, that were to be taken into the Ark.
2. The *number* of each sort, viz. two of each sort of unclean, and seven of each sort of clean.
3. The several sorts of *meat* or *food* they commonly eat, or live upon.
4. The *proportion* (as well as it can be guessed at) of the other animals to the size of a beef, or else sheep or wolf.
- 5thly and lastly, The *room* to be allowed for stables, or places to hold the said animals.

Where note, that the number of feet set down in the table are to be understood only as to length; the breadth^c being specified below, in reference to the general partitions of the Ark. All these particulars shall be exhibited under one view in the following table, though not just in the same order they are here mentioned.

^c See §. 16, 19, and 20.

Number.	Beasts which live on hay.	Proportion to Beefs.	Stables Length. Feet.	Number.	Beasts which live on fruits, roots, and insects.	Proportion to Sheep.	Stables Length. Feet.
2	Horse	3	20	2	Swine	4	
2	Ass	2	12	2	Baboon	2	
2	Camel	4	20	2	Ape	2	
2	Elephant	8	36	2	Monkey		
7	Beef	7	40	2	Pigritia †		
7	Urus †	7	40	2	Porcupine		
7	Bisons †	7	40	2	Hedgehog		
7	Bonasmus †	7	40	2	Squirrel		
7	Bubalus †	7	40	2	Guinea-pig		
7	Sheep	1		2	Ant-bear ^d	2	
7	Strepsiceros †	1	30	2	Tatu, or Armadillo	2	
7	Broadtailed Sheep ^a	1		2	Tortoise	2	
7	Goat	1				21	20
7	Ibex †	1	30				
7	Rupicapra †	1					
7	Gazellus †	1					
7	Alcis †	7	30				
7	Red-Deer	4	30				
7	Fallow-Deer	3	20				
7	Rein-Deer ^b	3	20				
7	Roe	2	36				
2	Rhinoceros	8					
2	Camelopardalis †	6					
2	Hare	2	30				
2	Rabbet	2					
2	Marmotto ^c	2					
		92	514				

Number.	Animals which live on Flesh.	Proportion to Wolves.	Stables Length. Feet.
2	Lion	4	10
2	Bear	4	10
2	Tiger	3	8
2	Pard	3	8
2	Ounce ^c	2	6
2	Cat	2	6
2	Civet-Cat		
2	Ferret		
2	Pole-Cat		
2	Marten		
2	Stoate ^f	3	6
2	Weesel		
2	Castor or Beaver		
2	Otter		
2	Dog	2	6
2	Wolf	2	6
2	Fox		
2	Badger ^h	2	6
2	Jackall ⁱ		
2	Caraguya		
		27	72

^a Ovis lati-cauda. ^b Rangifer.
^c Mus Alpinus. ^d Tamendua.
^e Lynx. ^f Putorius. ^g Lutra.
^h Taxus. ⁱ Lupus Aureus. These are the Latin names, set down in the table in the Synopsis Criticorum, as answering to the English names here used. The Latin names with this mark † are such as we have no certain names for in English, except what are made from the Latin, as Ure, Bonase, Bubal, &c.

PART I. In the foregoing table there is not inserted the mule,

13.
Why some
animals are
omitted in
the forego-
ing table.

because it is not a distinct species, but a mungrel breed. And although it be very likely, that the *urus*, *bisons*, *bonasus*, and *bubalus* are not distinct species from the common *bos* or *beef*, but differ chiefly in this, that the latter is tame, whereas the others are all wild; as also that the several differences reckoned up under the sheep and goat, (as the *strepsiceros*, and *broad-tailed sheep* under the former; the *ibex*, *rupicapra*, *gazellus*, and *alcis* under the latter, are not distinct species from the sheep and goat,) yet they are set down in the table, as if they were distinct species, the better to take away all pretence for cavilling; and whereas they are clean, there are seven of each sort supposed to be received into the Ark. As to the *phoca*, (*sea-calf* or *seal*), the *morsus*, the *crocodile*, the *senembi*, and *sea-tortoise*, these, according to the testimony of most approved authors, can live a long while in waters, and therefore are not mentioned in the foregoing table, as taken into the Ark: not but that there will remain abundantly room enough for them, as will appear by and by, was it requisite to suppose them taken into the Ark. As to the serpentine kind, the *snake*, the *viper*, the *cæcilia*, or *sloe-worm*, the *lizard*, the *frog*, the *toad*, and what they live upon, there will be room enough left in the lower part of all the Ark; namely, between the floor on which were the four-footed animals, and the bottom-boards or planks, of which the very bottom of the Ark was made; since betwixt these it is likely there was the distance of three or four feet at least. As for the smaller creatures, (as the *mouse*, *rat*, *mole*, and *insects*), they might be in several places of the Ark; nor is there need to assign any peculiar places for them to abide in, when they might easily find places for themselves.

14.
What
quantity of
flesh might
keep the
beasts that
live on

From what has been said, it appears that no reasonable objection can be made against the foregoing table, as if it were defective in its catalogue of animals or animalcules, contained in the Ark. In the next place shall be considered the provision requisite to subsist the forementioned

27	72			
----	----	--	--	--

creatures, contained in the Ark. And though it be probable from comparing Gen. i. 29, 30. with Gen. ix. 3. that before the Flood brutes as well as men lived on the fruits of the earth; yet, to take away all grounds of cavilling, it shall be supposed, that those creatures, which are ravenous now, were so from the beginning; and therefore it shall be considered, what kind of meat was suitable for them, and how much would suffice them for the time they were in the Ark. Now it is well known, that such beasts as chew the cud do not eat so much as such as are ravenous, and do not chew the cud. And out of the foregoing table it appears, that it may be rationally supposed, that there were but twenty pair of ravenous creatures, that live upon flesh, taken into the Ark; which upon a fair estimation may be reckoned equal to twenty-seven wolves, as to the proportion both of their bodies and also their stomachs. However, for greater certainty, they shall be supposed equal to thirty wolves. It shall also be supposed that six wolves every day devour a whole sheep; and surely it will be easily granted, that this is no short, but a plentiful allowance. According to this calculation it will follow, that thirty wolves devour five sheep every day; and so, that the quantity of five sheep was to be given

CHAP. II.

flesh, during their stay in the Ark.

Days in a year	-	-	365
Sheep each day	-	-	5

In a year 1825

—

every day, for a whole year, to the ravenous creatures in the Ark, supposed to be equal in stomach to thirty wolves: whence, the quantity of flesh, given to the said animals in the said time,

will amount to the quantity of one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five sheep.

This being laid down and granted, there will be abundantly room enough in the lower story of the Ark, for to receive all the four-footed beasts, that were to be kept in the Ark, for the preservation of their kind; and also for one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five sheep, to be given to the ravenous beasts for to eat, at the above-men-

15.

The lower story of the Ark capable of holding all the four-footed beasts that were to be there.

PART I. tioned rate of five sheep a day. And though nothing could be well objected, should the room allowed to the four-footed beasts be but strait, (as is usual in ships that go long voyages;) yet there is no need for it, and therefore we shall allow room abundantly enough for them in any posture; namely, to stand or lie, or turn round in, and also for to hold their dung a whole year round.

16. That the lower story of the Ark was sufficient for all these uses, will plainly appear from the diagram or draught hereunto belonging: wherein at the two ends of the Ark there is a partition, marked AA, which is fifteen feet broad. And, whereas the Ark was seventy-five feet broad, each of the partitions of the ends may be divided into five lesser partitions, each fifteen feet square; and consequently each capable of holding thirty-six sheep. For a place five feet square is sufficient to hold very well four sheep: forasmuch as the same will contain twenty-five square feet; and so each of the four sheep will have somewhat above six square feet to itself. But now the same proportion, that twenty-five square feet bear to four sheep, does a place of fifteen feet square bear to thirty-six sheep: and therefore each of the lesser partitions is very capable of holding the number of sheep we assign to it. And consequently, when each end of the Ark can contain five such lesser partitions, each end will contain five times thirty-six sheep. But because there must be room allowed either for a pair of stairs or ladder, therefore one of the five lesser partitions at each

This illustrated by the diagram hereunto belonging: whereby is shewn, that in eight partitions at the ends of the Ark might be contained 288 sheep.

	Feet.
Length	5
Breadth	5
Square	25
Sheep	4
sq. f.	25
f. sq.	(6 $\frac{1}{4}$)

each end of the Ark can contain five such lesser partitions, each end will contain five times thirty-six sheep. But because there must be room allowed either for a pair of stairs or ladder, therefore one of the five lesser partitions at each

	Feet.		
Length	15		
Breadth	15		
Square	<u>225</u>		
Sh.	Sq. f.	Sh.	Sq. f.
As 4	to 25,	so 36	to 225.
For	$25 \times 36 = 900$,	& 4)	900 (225.

end shall be allowed for that purpose : and then there will remain but four of them at each end for to hold the sheep. And these eight, holding thirty-six sheep a-piece, will hold in all two hundred and eighty-eight sheep.

Sheep	-	-	-	36
Partitions	-	-	-	8
				288

Besides these partitions at the ends, there are in the diagram five spaces, marked BB, three running the breadth of the Ark, (namely, one at each end, and one in the middle,) and two running the length of the Ark; which are left for going conveniently to the several stables or apartments, wherein the several four-footed beasts were kept; and which we supposed to be seven feet broad, each of them.

17.
Spaces left for going to the several stables or apartments of the beasts.

The four greater partitions on the sides, marked CC, and designed for stables or lesser partitions for the said beasts, are each eighteen feet broad, and about two hundred feet long. The two greater partitions in the middle, marked DD, are each twenty-five feet broad, and also about two hundred feet long.

18.
The rest of the lower story divided into six greater partitions.

Now let us assign the two greater partitions in the middle to the sheep. Since a place of twenty-five feet square will hold very well an hundred sheep; and since the two greater middle partitions are divided into sixteen lesser partitions of that bigness, all these lesser partitions will hold sixteen hundred sheep; to which if there be added the former two hundred eighty-eight sheep, the sum of all the sheep will be one thousand

			Feet.	
Length	-	-	25	
Breadth	-	-	25	
			Square feet	625

19.
The partitions assigned to the sheep.

Sheep.	Sq. f.	Sheep.	Sq. f.
As 4 to 25,		so 100 to	625
For $25 \times 100 = 2500$:			
And 4) 2500 (625.			
Sheep assigned to carni- vorous animals	} 1825		
Sheep to be kept for store, &c.	} 7		
	1832		

PART I. eight hundred eighty-eight.

Which sum does exceed the number of sheep assigned to be given to the other beasts that live on flesh, and also the sheep that were to be kept for store or breed, by fifty-six: so that more than the number of sheep, requisite to be in the Ark, might be very well contained in the said partitions of the lower story.

From	-	-	1888
Subtract	-	-	1832
		Overplus	56

The parti-
tions as-
signed to
the other
four-footed
animals.

20. Proceed we then to the stables or apartments for the other beasts; to which purpose we assign the four larger partitions on the sides, marked CC; each of which, as has been already said, is eighteen feet wide, and two hundred feet long: and consequently

contains each of them three thousand six hundred square feet. Whence all four of the said larger partitions, taken together, will contain four-

				Feet.
Length	-	-	-	200
Breadth	-	-	-	18
			Square feet	3600

teen thousand and four hundred square feet in all. And

Sq. feet in each	-	-	3600
Four partitions	-	-	4

this is abundantly room enough for to contain all the other beasts that were in the Ark, besides the sheep already accounted for. For it appears from the foregoing table, that the number of feet allowed to each sort of

			In all	14400 sq. f.

beasts therein mentioned, amount in all to six hundred and six feet in length. And the breadth of the said four side-partitions is supposed eighteen feet. Which two numbers multiplied together produce ten thousand nine hundred and eight.

But it has been shewn afore, that the square feet, contained in all the said four partitions together, amount

				Feet.
Sum 1st.	-	-	-	514
Sum 2d.	-	-	-	20
Sum 3d.	-	-	-	72
			In all	606

Feet. CHAP. II.

to fourteen thousand and four hundred: which is three thousand four hundred and ninety-two square feet, above what is required by the proportions allotted in the table. Or thus: the length of each of the four side-partitions is two hundred feet; therefore the length of all four together will be eight hundred feet. But the length allowed in the table for each sort of beasts put together amounts in all but to six hundred and six feet: so that there remains near two hundred feet (namely, wanting but six) over and above, what is required in length by the tables. Which said number of feet in length, being mul-

Length in all	-	-	-	606
Breadth	-	-	-	18

Square feet	10908
-------------	-------

From	-	-	-	14400
------	---	---	---	-------

Take	-	-	-	10908
------	---	---	---	-------

Remains	-	-	-	3492
---------	---	---	---	------

Feet.

Length of each partition	200
--------------------------	-----

partitions	4
------------	---

Length of all	800
---------------	-----

From	-	-	-	800
------	---	---	---	-----

Take	-	-	-	606
------	---	---	---	-----

Remains	-	-	-	194
---------	---	---	---	-----

Feet.

Length	-	-	-	194
--------	---	---	---	-----

Breadth	-	-	-	18
---------	---	---	---	----

Square feet	3492
-------------	------

tiplied into the breadth of the said partitions, viz. eighteen feet, will produce three thousand four hundred and ninety-two square feet, (as before,) not taken up by the beasts mentioned in the table; and so to spare for any beasts, either not mentioned there, through oversight, or else not yet known to us in these parts. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems very clear, that the lower story of the Ark was abundantly capable of receiving very conveniently all the four-footed beasts yet known, and very likely such also as are unknown.

We are then in the next place to shew, that the second story was sufficient to contain all that was requisite for one whole year's subsisting the rest of the creatures, that did not live on flesh, but hay, fruits, &c. To this end it is to be observed, that all the creatures that live upon hay,

21.

The proportion of beasts, that live upon hay, and were to be taken into the Ark.

PART I. upon a fair estimation, are supposed in the table to be equivalent to ninety-two beeves. But to take away all pretence for cavils, we shall suppose them equivalent to an hundred beeves, besides the one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five sheep, designed for the subsisting of the carnivorous (or flesh-eating) animals. Now it was above supposed, that all the carnivorous animals were equivalent to thirty wolves; and that a whole sheep was eaten every day by every six, that is, five sheep every day by all the thirty wolves, or all the carnivorous animals. Hence, five sheep being to be spent every day, provision need be made only for the subsisting of half the number of those sheep, that were to be given to the carnivorous animals, that is, only for nine hundred and twelve sheep; or (which comes to the same, supposing five sheep equivalent to one beef) for one hundred and eighty beeves, and a little over. To which if the hundred beeves (to which all the animals living on hay are supposed to be equivalent) be added, there will be in all two hundred and eighty beeves (omitting the odd two over) to be provided for. But we can afford to suppose the number to be just three hundred beeves: for which provision was to be laid up in the second story of the Ark.

22. For it has been observed by the curious in these matters, that thirty, or at most forty pound weight of hay is sufficient to keep one beef one day, allowing but twelve ounces to the pound. However, we shall allow to each beef forty pound weight of hay. It has also been observed by the curious, that a solid cubit (i. e. a foot and half in length, breadth, and depth) of hay well settled together, as it is used to be when it has been put up in rick for some time, will weigh forty pound, of twelve ounces to the pound. So that for the three hundred beeves

The quantity of hay sufficient for the said beasts during their stay in the Ark.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 2) 1825 \quad (912\frac{1}{2} \\
 \hline
 5) 912 \quad (182\frac{2}{5} \\
 \begin{array}{r}
 \text{To} \quad 180 \\
 \text{Add} \quad 100 \\
 \hline
 \text{Sum} \quad 280
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

there were to be laid up, for the whole year, one hundred nine thousand five hundred solid cubits of hay.

Days of a year	365
Cubits of hay	300
	109500

CHAP. II.

But now the second story of the Ark, being ten cubits high, three hundred long, and fifty broad, will contain one hundred and fifty thousand solid cubits, that is, forty thousand and five hundred above what were sufficient to hold the hay to be laid up, when well pressed together.

23.

The second story of the Ark capable to hold a sufficient quantity of food for such beasts as live not on flesh.

Wherefore there will be room enough left in the second story, as for other necessities requisite to the fabric of the Ark, so also for to lay up such fruits, roots, corn, or seeds, as were requisite for to keep such other animals as live not upon hay; and likewise for

Length	300 Cubits.
Breadth	50
	15000 Sq. Cubits.
Height	10
	150000 Sol. Cubits.
From	150000
Take	109500
Remains	40500

such passages as were requisite, and for holes to put down the hay to the beasts in the lower story. Upon the whole therefore it appears, that the middle story of the Ark was likewise large enough to hold all that was requisite to be put therein.

There remains now only the upper or third story of the Ark to be considered. And it is very clear, that half of that was sufficient to hold all the species or kinds of birds, (though they were twice as many more species as are reckoned up of beasts in the foregoing table,) together with what they were to live upon. For the far greatest part of birds are but of a small bulk; and might commodiously enough be kept in rows of boxes, set one above another. And it is certain, that the remaining room of the upper story was abundantly sufficient to hold Noah, and those that were with him, and all the materials they had need of.

24.

The third or upper story of the Ark, capable to hold Noah and his family, with all kinds of birds, and necessities for them.

Upon the whole therefore it appears, that the Ark was

PART I. capacious enough to hold all that God ordered to be contained therein; and also what was requisite for their subsistence during their stay in the Ark. For though it be

25. Upon the whole, the Ark capable of containing all that it was to contain. very likely, that there may be, in countries unknown to us, some other kinds both of four-footed creatures and birds, besides those mentioned in the table; yet it appears there is room enough left for them, over and above what is allotted to those set down in the table; and that, supposing we allow (otherwise than Bishop Wilkins does in the table) the hound, and greyhound, and some few other sorts of dogs, to be different species originally. For the room remaining vacant is, as has been before observed, two hundred feet, wanting but six, in length, and eighteen feet in breadth; which together make a space of three thousand six hundred square feet.

26. To conclude: Bishop Wilkins rightly observes, that had the most skilful mathematicians and philosophers been set to consult, what proportions a vessel, designed for such an use as the Ark was, should have in the several parts of it, they could not have pitched upon any other, more suitable to the purpose, than those mentioned by Moses. Insomuch that the proportion of the Ark, from which some weak and atheistical persons (for all atheism, or, which comes to the same in the case before us, deism is at the bottom founded on weakness of understanding) have made some poor efforts to overthrow the authority of the sacred Scriptures, does very much tend to confirm and establish the truth and divine authority of them: especially if it be duly considered, that in those early times men were less versed in arts and sciences; at least that the Ark was in all probability the first vessel, of any bulk, that was made to go upon the water. Whence the justness of the proportion observed in its several parts, and the exactness of its capacity to the use it was designed for, is reasonably to be ascribed, not to bare human invention or contrivance, but to the divine direction, expressly given to Noah by God himself, as the sacred historian acquaints us.

CHAP. III.

Of the first Plantations or Settlements after the Flood.

WE are, according to the method observed by the sacred historian, to proceed next to the first plantations of mankind after the Flood. And because what is said in reference hereunto will extend itself to a considerable length, I have therefore judged it convenient, to distinguish it into four several Sections: whereof the first shall contain what relates to the said plantations in general. The second shall contain an account of the plantations of Noah's posterity by Japhet. The third, an account of the plantations of the descendants of Shem, the second son of Noah. And the fourth and last, an account of the plantations of the descendants of Ham, the younger son of Noah.

The method observed in this chapter.

SECT. I.

Containing what relates to the first Plantations or Settlements after the Flood, in general.

THE sacred historian, having informed us how the world was dispeopled by the Flood, proceeds to inform us next, how it was repeopled by the posterity of Noah; which he does, by acquainting us, after what method the three branches of Noah's posterity did distinctly plant or settle themselves at the first, in three distinct tracts of the earth. For that the first plantations were made, not by mere chance, or confusedly, but after a regular method, is evident from the sacred history: wherein we are told, first, as to the sons of Japhet, the eldest branch of Noah's posterity, that *by these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations*, Gen. x. 5. In like manner Moses

1. The original plantations after the Flood were made not by chance, or confusedly, but after a regular manner and orderly.

PART I. concludes the account he gives us of the sons of Ham, the youngest branch of Noah's posterity, with these words: *These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, in their nations*, ver. 20. And in the same manner, the account given us of the descendants of Shem is concluded by Moses thus: *These are the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, in their nations*, ver. 31. From the fore-mentioned texts may be well inferred, as the learned Mede^a has observed, that this great division of the earth we are speaking of was performed *orderly*, and was not a *confused* and *irregular* dispersion, wherein every one went whither he listed, and seated himself where he liked best. An orderly sorting is plainly denoted by those expressions used in each of the forecited texts, viz. *after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, in their nations*.

2. For it is to be observed, that though the words, *families* and *nations*, may elsewhere be promiscuously used; yet being here conjoined and compared, they must needs have a distinct signification. What that is, the particle [in] does insinuate. For in this expression, *after their families, in their nations*, families are plainly subordinate to nations, as parts to a whole, or specials to a more general. Families therefore are parts of a nation; and a nation is an offspring, that contains many families. Again, a nation is so called, either *absolutely*, when there is no greater offspring, in regard whereof it may be called a family; or *respectively*, when, though it be a nation in regard of those families it comprehends, yet itself also is a family in regard of a greater generation. These subaltern nations are called sometimes by a more special name, *tribes*. For those, which the Scripture in the offspring of Jacob calls *tribes*, in the generations of Ishmael are called *nations*. Gen. xxv. 16. Now the tribes of Israel, or nations of Ishmael, though being compared with their own families, they were nations; yet in regard to the generations of Arphaxad, they were but families of the eighth or ninth

Nations
and fami-
lies, how to
be under-
stood, when
taken com-
paratively.

^a See Mede's Works, B. i. Disc. 49, and 50.

order. Once more, as nations and their differing ranks are in Scripture denoted by two words, *nations* and *tribes*; so the parts of these, which be of many orders, are not always called *families*, but sometimes *households*. Thus for the discovering of Achan^b, and electing of Saul^c by lot, Israel first came out by their *tribes*, then by their *families*; where we must understand also their *sub-families*, as is easily gathered from the story of Achan, where these *sub-families* are called sometimes *families*, and sometimes *households*.

And thus we know what are *nations*, and what are *families*, and what are the kinds of both. Now let us see, what nations and what families Moses means in the fore-cited texts. It seems then plain, that Moses must mean those which are *absolutely* nations, not sub-nations, or such as are so only *respectively*; and likewise he must mean *absolute* families, not sub-families or households. The reason is, because Moses speaks of that division of the earth, which was made when Peleg was born, which was within an hundred years after the Flood. But by this time there were no families so much increased, that they could be called tribes or nations; for the name of *family* remains, as Mr. Mede says, until the third generation. Now that the division we are speaking of was made before the third generation, is sufficiently proved, in that Heber, who was the father of Peleg, and not then the head of any house, was but the second from Arphaxad, one of the founders of those nations, which were of the offspring of Shem.

The sense of this expression, *after their families, in their nations*, being thus cleared, we see a twofold order in these first plantations. First, they were ranged *according to their nations*; and then, secondly, every nation was ranked *by his families*: so that every *nation* dwelt and had his lot by himself; and in every *nation* the *families* also dwelt, and had their lots by themselves. For this seems to be the true import of the sacred text, wherein it is said, that these plantations were made *according to their fa-*

CHAP. III.
SECT. I.

3.
In what sense Moses here uses the words, *nations* and *families*.

4.
The import of this phrase, *after their families, in their nations*.

^b Jos. vii. 14.

^c 1 Sam. x. 20, 21.

PART I. *milies, in their lands, in their nations*; whereby is plainly denoted, that the land or peculiar lot of each *family* did lie within the general lot of its respective *nation*.

5. And thus much for the first argument, whereby it may be proved from the sacred text itself, that the original plantations of Noah's posterity were made according to a certain *regular method and order*. But besides this first argument, drawn from that expression of these first plantations being made *according to their families, in their nations*, there may be drawn another argument to the same purpose, from that other expression of the first planters settling themselves *according to their languages*. Wherein we may see the very finger of God, who so caused them to speak with *divers tongues*, that their *tongues* also were ordered after their families, and after their nations. As to the *confusion of tongues* I shall speak more in the following chapter, wherein I shall treat of the city and tower of Babel: it will suffice here to observe, that a very good argument for to prove further, that these first plantations were made *orderly*, may be drawn from the end, why God multiplied the languages of mankind; which was, as it seems, lest dwelling all together, they should confound their families, which God in his wisdom would have kept distinct for divers purposes. And, that this should be the end, or one of the ends, follows naturally from the proper effect of *pluralities of tongues*, which is to sort men into *pluralities of societies*, as the unity of one common language had before knit them into one community. Now if this was the purpose of Almighty God, then it must needs be, that, for the prosecution of this end, each family should dwell by itself, and each nation by itself; and so there must arise an *orderly division*.

6. To the two foregoing considerations, drawn from the Scripture itself, may be added two others, one drawn from the wisdom of God, the other from the wisdom of the Patriarchs. God is expressly declared in Scripture to be *the author, not of confusion, but of order*. And therefore since it is the manner, and as it were the property,

That the first plantations after the Flood were made orderly, may be confirmed by another consideration concerning the method of Providence in multiplying the languages of mankind.

The same further established by two other considerations, viz. one drawn from God's

of Almighty God to act *orderly* in all things, wherein he hath a special hand, and directs by a special providence, it may be reasonably inferred, that the first plantations we are speaking of were managed *orderly*; forasmuch as it is reasonable to suppose, that herein God's providence was more especially concerned, it being so material an action, and as it were the ground and foundation of the second propagation of mankind.

CHAP. III.
SECT. I.

being the
God of
order.

But another reason may be drawn from the wisdom of the Patriarchs, who were all alive at this division, and were as kings in their generations. Seeing therefore that there is great difference in the parts of the earth, for the goodness of the soil and temperature of the air; it was their parts to prevent the danger of contention among their sons, who should have the better parts of the earth. Which could be done no otherwise, but by instituting an *orderly division*; and that either by casting of lots, or choosing according to the order of their birth-right, after some survey taken of a sufficient portion of the earth, and distinct portions laid out according to the number of nations, then of families, &c.

7.

The other
drawn from
the wisdom
of the Pa-
triarchs.

Having produced four material arguments, to shew that the first plantations after the Flood were made, not *confusedly*, but *orderly*; I shall proceed next to lay down some rules, whereby to guide ourselves in finding out the original plantations of the three branches of Noah's posterity, and of their several nations and families. Wherefore,

8.

Rules for
the better
discovering
the first
plantations
after the
Flood.

First, when the Scripture does expressly assign any portion or tract of the earth to any branch of Noah's posterity in general, or to any nation or family in particular; we must rest assured, that the respective branch, nation, or family, settled itself there; at least as to the main or bulk of it.

9.

Rule 1.

Secondly, we must seek these original plantations within a reasonable compass of the earth, and not all the world over. For when this division was made, which was in the

10.

Rule 2.

PART I. days of Peleg, the number of mankind was small. For, says Mr. Mede, besides women and children, their number in all could not be above seven thousand, as may be gathered out of Gen. x. so that it is not likely, that they took the whole world into the first division or plantation.

11.
Rule 3. Thirdly, those nations, whose families are named by Moses, are chiefly to be sought for in places neighbouring to Judea. For therefore chiefly did Moses name their families, because they were such as the Jews would have to deal with, and that chiefly on account of their neighbourhood.

12.
Rule 4. Fourthly, where we find the nation, there also we must look for the families of that nation; because the families were ranged in their nations. And therefore,

13.
Rule 5. Fifthly, for the same reason, where we find any one of the families, there we must look for the rest, and for the whole nation. These five rules afore-mentioned we may take, says Mr. Mede, for sure grounds, and use them as a land-compass in our present discovery: but to them may be added five more, of less weight than the former; yet such as being joined with the former, will help us to a greater certainty. Wherefore,

14.
Rule 6. Sixthly, if we find that the Scriptures usually name two or more of these nations together, it is a likely argument, that they were seated both together, and were neighbouring one to the other.

15.
Rule 7. Seventhly, we are to observe the fulfilling of prophecies by nations foretold under the names of their founders.

16.
Rule 8. Eighthly, because it is likely that in this division there was a regard had by the wise fathers for their future colonies, we are to think, that they ordered their partition so, as to nations, if not always as to families, that when they were to vent their numbers, and send forth new colonies, they should not be enforced to encroach on one another's inheritance, or one to pass through the lot of another, but that they had either the sea or empty land every one upon some of his borders.

Ninthly, the testimony of the ancients is to be considered. CHAP. III.
SECT. I.

Tenthly, and lastly, we are to have regard to the remainders of ancient names; and this is the ordinary help that every one follows. These are the ten criteria, or marks, which we are to make use of in the present discovery; and that which shall be found agreeable to all or the greater part of these, if it will not be allowed for evident truth, it must at least be esteemed the most likely conjecture, and the greatest certainty we can attain to. 17.
Rule 9.
18.
Rule 10.

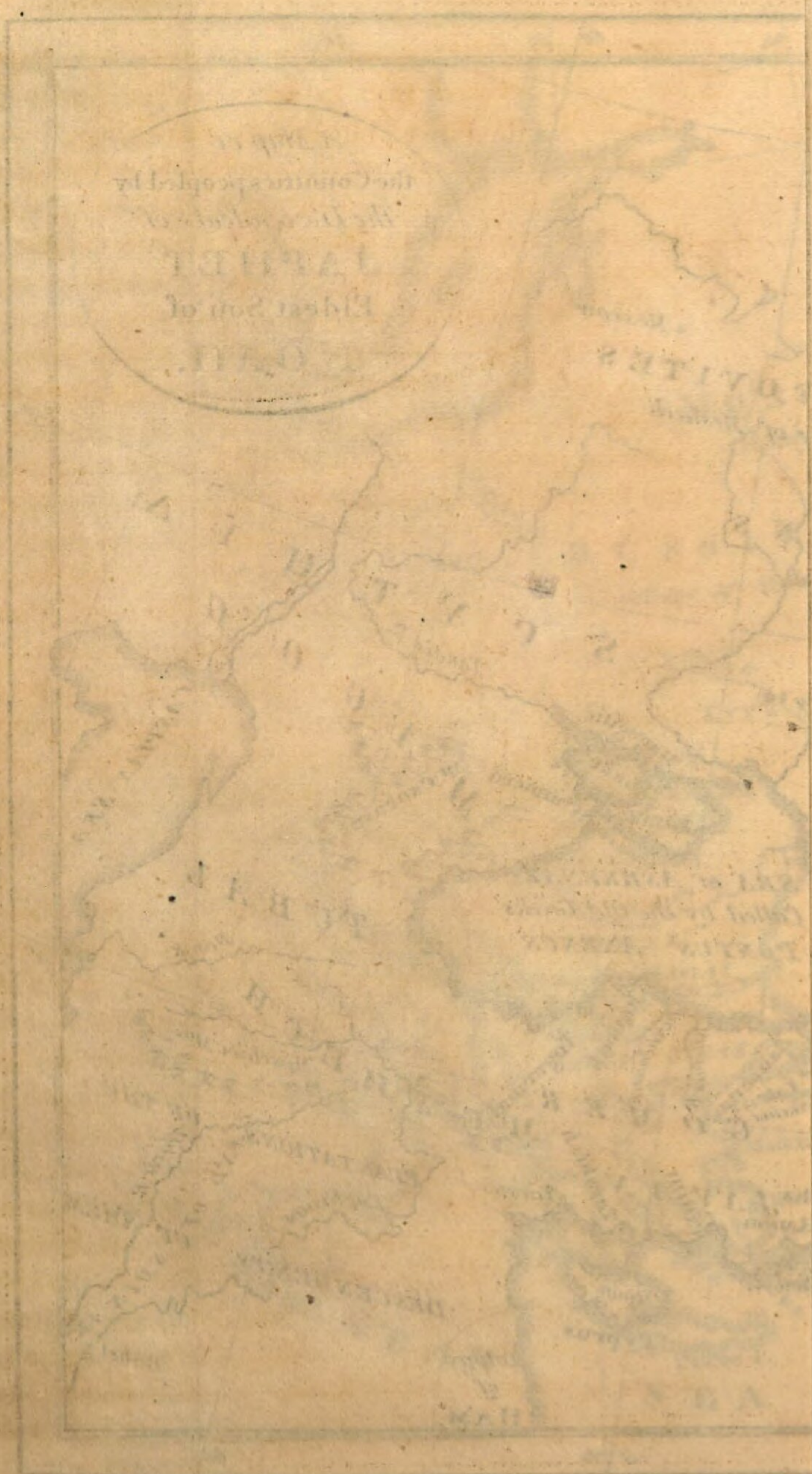
There is another particular to be taken notice of, concerning the account in general given us by Moses, of the first plantations after the Flood; which is this: that some learned men are of opinion, that among the names of the sons of Noah, mentioned Gen. x. there are several which are to be looked upon, not as the names of single persons, but of so many people; besides the descendants of Canaan, mentioned there under the names of the Jebusite, Emorite, Girgashite, Hivite, Arkite, Sinite, Arvadite, Zemarite, and Hamathite; which are generally acknowledged to be the names of so many several people, descended from Canaan. However, it seems probable, that the respective sires of these people, that is, the several sons of Canaan, from whom they were descended, were called by the names of Jebus, Emor, Girgash, Hivah, Arak, Sin, Arvad, Zamar, and Hamath. Now, as not these single persons themselves, but their respective descendants, are denoted by the names of the Jebusite, Emorite, Girgashite, Hivite, &c. so it is thought by some learned men, that Kittim, Dodanim, Mizraim, and (all those whom Mizraim begat, viz.) Ludim, Anamim, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim, and Caphtorim, are names also not of single persons, but of people. One reason for the said opinion is this; that the Hebrew words are of a plural termination, according to the analogy of that tongue. Whence by Kittim are supposed to be meant the *descendants of Keth*; by Dodanim, the 19.
Several names in Gen. x. not the names of single persons, but of people.

PART I. *descendants of Dodan*, and so of the rest. And this seems to be put beyond dispute, by what we read expressly (Deut. ii. 23.) of the Caphtorim; namely, that *they came forth out of Caphtor*. And therefore it is very probable, that when the text says, Mizraim begat Ludim, Ananim, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim, and Caphtorim, the plain meaning thereof is, that Mizraim begat Lud, Aram, Lehab, Naphtuah, Pathrus, Casluah, and Caphtor; whose descendants are respectively denominated from their several sires or fathers, Ludim, Ananim, Lehabim, &c. and this is further confirmed, in that we have mention made (as of Caphtor in the singular, from whom the Caphtorims are in the same place expressly said to be descended, Deut. ii. 23. so likewise) of Lud in the singular, Ezek. xxvii. 10. who, being joined to Phut the son of Ham, was in all probability the father of the Ludim; the whole nation or people being (as is usual in sacred Scripture) denoted by the name of their sire, from whom they descended. It is evident that the Seventy Interpreters were of this opinion: for they render Kittim and Dodanim, or, as they read it, Rodanim, by Κήτιοι Ketii, and Ποδίοι Rodii; as also to Ludim, Ananim, &c. they prefixed the plural article τοῦς.

20.
Mizraim
the name
of a single
person.

As for Mizraim, some will have this name likewise to be a *plural*, or (to speak more properly and according to the analogy of the Hebrew tongue) a *dual*; and will have thereby denoted the two more general divisions of Egypt, namely, into Upper Egypt, sometimes distinguished by the proper name of Thebais, from Thebes, a principal city thereof; and Lower Egypt, or Egypt more properly so called. Agreeably to this hypothesis, it is thought that Egypt is sometimes denoted in Scripture by the singular Mazar, as in 2 Kings xix. 24. Isai. xix. 6. and Mic. vii. 12. but in *these* places, the word is in all the old translations, (Septuagint, Chaldee, Syriack, Arabick,) as well as ours, taken for an appellative. In short, it seems to be a consideration of some weight against Mizraim being any other than a singular, that in the text where Mizraim is said to

THE COMPASS ROSE
BY THE LIEUTENANT
JAMES H. B. D.
OF THE U.S. NAVY



James H. B. D.



beget Ludim, the verb *beget* is joined to Mizraim in the singular: whereas, had Mizraim been a dual or plural, the rules of syntax would require that the verb should be so likewise. CHAP. III.
SECT. I.

And it is observable, that though the Seventy Interpreters rendered the other Hebrew words, of a plural termination, as words of the plural number; yet they looked on Mizraim as a singular, and accordingly join to it a verb of the singular number. And thus much for the first plantations after the Flood in general. I proceed now to speak distinctly of the plantations of the three distinct branches of Noah's posterity, by his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet; which accordingly are distinguished into three distinct Sections.

SECT. II.

Of the first Plantations of the Descendants of Japhet, eldest Son of Noah; and also of some of the Colonies thereof in after-ages, particularly of the Ancient Britains.

THOUGH it be said, Gen. v. 32. *Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japhet*; and the same order is elsewhere used in reckoning up the three sons of Noah; yet it is plain from Gen. ix. 22. 24. that Ham was the younger son of Noah. As to the Hebrew text, Gen. x. 21. the words are differently understood by interpreters and commentators; some rendering the text after this sense, that Shem was *the elder brother of Japhet*; others rendering it in this sense, that Shem was *the brother of Japhet the elder*. This last interpretation is followed in the Septuagint and our English version; and seems to be put out of dispute by an argument drawn from Gen. v. 32. and xi. 10. compared together. In the former text it is said, *Noah was five hundred years old, and begat Shem, Ham, and Japhet*; whereby must be reasonably understood, that he began

1.
Of the three sons of Noah, Japhet was the elder, and Ham the younger.

PART I. then to beget children, and in that year of his age begat his eldest son. But in the latter text it is said, that *Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after the Flood.* Now, had Shem been his *eldest* son of all, he must have been a hundred and two years old, the second year after the Flood: for Noah begat his eldest son in his five hundredth year, as we learn Gen. v. 32. and from thence to the Flood were an hundred years: for we are told Gen. vii. 11. that *in the six hundredth year of Noah's life* the Flood began. So that two years after the Flood, Shem must have been an hundred and two years old at least, (even by two years *after the Flood*, understanding two years after the beginning of the Flood,) had he been Noah's eldest son, or begotten in the five hundredth year of Noah. Since then the Scripture tells us, Gen. xi. 10. that Shem was but *an hundred* years, two years after the Flood; it evidently follows, that Japhet must be the son which Noah begat in his five hundredth year, and consequently must be elder than Shem. For as to Ham, the Scripture is express, as hath been observed, that he was the *younger* Son, Gen. ix. 24.

2. Now Moses begins his account of the descendants of Noah, with the sons of Japhet. Why he does so, is uncertain; since it seems certain, that he had not regard herein to seniority of birth: for then in all likelihood he would have had the same regard in respect to his reckoning up the more early descendants of Shem and Ham: whereas he observes not the order of birth therein, but gives us the line of Ham before that of Shem. In speaking to the first plantations of the three branches of Noah's posterity, I shall indeed take the three branches according to the order of birth afore-mentioned; yet not for that reason, but because this order falls in very well with a geographical order. I shall therefore first treat of the plantations of the branch of Japhet; and I shall dwell the longer on these, because by Japhet's posterity were chiefly planted or peopled the several countries of Europe; which are best known to us at present of any in the

The method here observed, in speaking of the first plantations of the sons of Noah.

whole world, and is of nearest concern to us for to be known as to its first planters or most ancient inhabitants. I shall in the second place proceed to the first plantations of the branch of Shem; and in the last place, to those of Ham.

In order then to find out in what tract of the earth the descendants of Japhet at first settled themselves, we must, according to the first rule above laid down, have regard, in the first place, to what the Scripture says concerning the same; and that is this: that by the descendants of Japhet were *the isles of the Gentiles divided*, Gen. x. 5. The great difficulty then is, to know what is here meant by *the isles of the Gentiles*. And it is certain from several passages of Scripture, that by the word, which we translate *isles*, the Hebrews understood, not only such countries as we call *isles*, that is, such as are, *on all sides*, surrounded by sea; but also such countries as were so divided by sea from them, or the Egyptians, (among whom they lived a long time, and so called things by the same names,) as that they could not be well come unto, or at least used not to be gone unto, but *by sea*. In brief, they called *islands* all *beyond-sea* countries, and all people *islanders*, which came to them and to the Egyptians by sea. Now, such are the countries of the Lesser Asia, and the countries of Europe; and that these are denoted in Scripture by the name of the *isles of the Gentiles*, may be shewn from many places of the Bible: we shall quote but the most pregnant.

The Prophet Isaiah, ch. xi. ver. 5. 10, 11. speaking of the calling of the Gentiles and restoration of the Jews, (or, as Mr. Mede says, of the calling of the Gentiles by an allusion to the restoring of the Jews,) hath these words; *The Lord shall recover the remnant of his people from Assyria, Egypt, Pathros, Cush, Elam, Shinar, Hamath, and from the islands of the sea*. Here it is evident, that by the *isles of the sea* (which is the same with the *isles of the Gentiles*) must be understood countries distinct from the other countries there expressly named, viz.

CHAP. III.
SECT. II.

3.

What is meant by the Isles of the Gentiles, which were divided or planted by the sons of Japhet.

4.

Proofs from Scripture for the foregoing exposition of the Isles of the Gentiles.

PART I. Assyria, Egypt, &c. And therefore they may be in reason esteemed the countries of Lesser Asia and Europe, or at least these principally. Besides, the Prophet here speaking of the calling of the Gentiles, would not likely omit those places where St. Paul, who was peculiarly styled *the Apostle of the Gentiles*, chiefly laboured; and which were from the beginning, and are at this day the principal seat of Christian churches. So that at this day there is no part of the world called by the name of Christendom, but that which is in our sense divided from Judea by sea, even the *isles of the Gentiles*. And this was heretofore intimated by the Prophets, in that they never speak of the *calling of the Gentiles*, but they harped upon the *isles of the Gentiles*. The same Prophet Isaiah, (ch. xl. ver. 15.) to shew God's omnipotency, speaks after this manner; *Behold, the nations are as a drop of the bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance; behold, he takes up the isles as a very little thing.* Where, if by *isles* we mean those which we call *isles*, the comparison of disparity will not hang together; because those which we call *isles* are indeed *very little things*. It remains therefore that by *isles* are here meant those large countries, which were beyond the sea in regard of Egypt and Palestine. In Ezek. xxvii. 3. Tyre is called *a merchant of people for many islands*, because unto Tyre came many people from *beyond the sea* for merchandise. To mention but one place more, in 1 Maccab. xiv. 5. among the commendations of Simon, one of the worthy Maccabees, it is said, that *he took Joppa for an haven, and for an entrance to the isles of the sea*: where it is manifest, that by the *isles of the sea* the Jews meant those nations which came to them by sea.

5. What has been said may suffice to shew, that by the *isles of the Gentiles* are to be understood, countries divided by sea (in the afore-mentioned sense) from Palestine and Egypt, and perhaps especially from Egypt, because, as Mr. Mede observes, when Moses wrote this account, he was not in Palestine, and therefore probably used only

The Lesser
Asia, and
Europe,
planted by
Japhet's
posterity.

such names as the Jews were acquainted with in the land of Goshen. Since then Moses tells us, that by the descendants of Japhet were divided the *isles of the Gentiles*, we must look for their first plantations in the countries denoted thereby, that is, the countries principally of Lesser Asia and Europe. And accordingly we shall there find them, or at least most of them, and that too agreeably to the rules above laid down, especially within a suitable compass, according to the second rule.

Now among the descendants of Japhet, there are named by Moses seven sons of his properly so called, and which may be probably supposed to have been the founders of so many nations, to wit, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. Of these seven nations, we have but the families of two named, viz. of Gomer and Javan. The sons of Gomer were Ashkenaz, Ripath, and Togarmah; the sons of Javan were Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim, Gen. x. 2. 4.

I shall begin with Gomer and his sons; to whom we may assign the greatest part of the northern tract of the Lesser Asia for their first plantations, as will appear by the ensuing particulars. For to begin with the founder of this whole nation, Gomer. The Jewish historian, Josephus^a, tells us expressly, that the Galatians (who lived in this tract, and to whom St. Paul wrote an Epistle) were called Gomerites; and Herodotus^b tells us, that a people called Cimmerii dwelt in these parts; and Pliny^c speaks of a town in Troas, a part of Phrygia, called Cimmeris; both which names are plainly enough derived from Gomer, to such as understand the nature of the Hebrew tongue, and that the letters called radicals are chiefly, if not solely, to be regarded in etymologies from Hebrew words, as is shewn in the Preface. It is certain, that the name of Phrygia did anciently extend itself over a very considerable part of the northern tract of the Lesser Asia.

6.

The nation of Gomer situated in the northern part of Lesser Asia.

^a Jewish Antiq. b. i. ch. 7.

^c Plin. lib. v. cap. 30.

^b Herod. lib. iv.

PART I. For, besides that large country, which all along retained the name of Phrygia among the Greek and Latin writers, and was an inland country; that which was frequently called Troas from the celebrated Trojans, and lay near or upon the Hellespont, was also comprehended under the name of Phrygia, and, for distinction sake from the former, was sometimes called Phrygia Minor; of which more hereafter. I proceed now to observe, that it is also certain, that great part of Galatia was formerly included under Phrygia, as being possessed by the Phrygians, till these were dispossessed of the same by the Galatians.

7. I take notice of the extensiveness of the name of Phrygia in this tract, because the learned Bochart conjectures, that the name Phrygia was imposed on these parts by the Greeks, in allusion to the Hebrew name Gomer. For he has observed, that the radix גמר *Gamar*, does signify *to consume*, and that its derivative גמרא *Gumra*, or *Gumro*, signifies *a coal*: whence the Greeks coming to know the import of these words, might thereby be induced to think, that the name Gomer was imposed on these parts, as denoting a country of a soil so *black*, as if it had been *burnt to a coal*; and consequently might be induced to impose on the same a name of like importance, and so to call it Φρυγία, *Phrygia*, that is, the *torrid* or *burnt* country, from φρύγειν, which in the Greek language signifies *to roast*. This conjecture carries along with it the greater probability, not only because there are instances of the same nature, which we shall take notice of as we go along; but also because it is certain there is a part of this country which was specially called by the Greeks Φρυγία κεκαυμένη, *burnt Phrygia*.

8. What has been already said concerning the remainders of Gomer's name, to be found in these parts among ancient writers, conduces (according to our tenth and last rules) to make it probable, that the nation of Gomer first settled itself here. And the same will appear more probable, and, I think, beyond exception, from what is now to be added concerning the settlements of the three families of this

The situation assigned to the nation of Gomer, confirmed from the situation of the several families of his sons.

nation; for we shall find them all settled in particular lots, within the compass of the general lot before assigned to the whole nation. CHAP. III.
SECT. II.

For, as for Ashkenaz, who of the three sons of Gomer is first named by Moses, that he was seated in the western part of the nation of Gomer, that is, in the north-west part of the Lesser Asia, is hardly to be questioned, there being so plain footsteps of his name to be found in these parts. 9.
The situa-
tion of
Ashkenaz,
son of
Gomer.

For in Bithynia there is a bay, formerly called the Ascanian bay, together with a river and a lake of the same name. And in the Lesser Phrygia or Troas, there was both a city and province adjoining, anciently known by the name of Ascania; and there were isles lying in the coast, called the Ascanian isles. Nor is it any ways unlikely, but that, in honour of this Ashkenaz, the kings and great men of these parts took the name of Ascanius. Of which name, besides Ascanius the son of Æneas, we find a king mentioned in the second book of Homer's Iliads, which came to the aid of Priamus at the siege of Troy. 10.
The names
Ascanius
and As-
cania de-
rived from
Ashkenaz.

Further, the conjecture of Mons. Bochart seems not improbable, that what in after-ages was, and now-a-days is called frequently the Euxine Sea, was, in the early ages of the world we are speaking of, called the Sea of Ashkenaz from the settlement of the family of Ashkenaz upon the coasts, along which lies the entrance into this sea. Hence by the Greeks (with a little variation of the word, moulding it into a word of their own language, as was their common practice) it was at first named Πόντος Ἀξενος, Pontus Axenus. And in following ages, when the true origin of the name was forgot among the Greeks, they had regard only to the literal import of the word in their own tongue; and thence imagined, that this sea was so named by their ancestors, from the *unhospitable* or uncivilized nations, that lived then along the coasts thereof; for the word Ἀξενος, Axenus, does in Greek signify *unhospitable*. On this score, when the Greeks began 11.
The Euxine
Sea, prima-
rily called
Pontus Ax-
enus, the
Axene Sea,
probably
from Asce-
naz.

PART I. to look on the inhabitants of these coasts as civilized, then they changed the name of Πόντος Ἀξενος, Pontus Axenus, into that of Πόντος Εὐξεινος, Pontus Euxinus; whence it is to this day frequently styled the Euxine Sea, i. e. the *Hospitable Sea*.

12. The situation of Ashkenaz confirmed from Scripture. Once more, the Prophet Jeremiah, foretelling the taking of Babylon by Cyrus the Great, has this expression, ch. li. ver. 27. *Call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, and Minni, and Ashkenaz.* Where by the kingdom of Ashkenaz may very well be understood the inhabitants of these parts we are speaking of. For Xenophon, as Bochart has well observed, tells us, that Cyrus having taken Sardes, sent Hystaspes with an army into the *Phrygia that lies on the Hellespont*; and that Hystaspes, having made himself master of the country, brought along with him from thence a great many of the horse and other soldiers of these Phrygians; whom Cyrus took along with the rest of his army to Babylon.

13. The situation of Riphath, son of Gomer. 2. Riphath, the second son of Gomer, is probably supposed to have seated his family in the parts adjoining eastward to the plantation of his brother Ashkenaz. This opinion is confirmed by the testimony of Josephus, who expressly says, that the Paphlagonians, a people inhabiting some portion of this tract, were originally called Riphateans, from Riphath. There are also some remainders of his name to be found here, among the writings of the ancient Greeks and Latins. For in Apollonius's *Argonautics* there is mention made of a river called Rhebæus, which rising in this tract empties itself into the Euxine Sea. The same is called, by Dionysius Periegetes and others, Rhebas. Stephanus does not only acquaint us with the river, but tells us also of a region of the same name, and whose inhabitants were called Rhebæi. And Pliny places here a people called (more agreeable to the name of their forefather) Riphæi, and another called Arimphæi. Lastly, Mr. Mede is of opinion, that another river in this tract, called by the Greeks Parthenius, was originally called Riphathenius; which may not be alto-

gether unlikely, if we consider that it was the Greeks' usual custom to mould foreign words into words of their own tongue. CHAP. III.
SECT. II.

3. The third and last son of Gomer, named by Moses, is Togarmah, whose family was seated in the remaining, and consequently in the most easterly part of the nation of Gomer. And this situation of the family of Togarmah is agreeable both to sacred and common writers. For as to sacred Scripture Ezekiel thus speaks, ch. xxxviii. ver. 6. *Gomer, and all his bands; the house of Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands:* and again, ch. xxvii. ver 14. *They of the house of Togarmah traded in thy fairs* (i. e. the fairs of Tyre) *with horses, and horsemen, and mules.* Now, that the situation we assign to Togarmah does in a manner lie true north to Judea, is evident to any one that will view the map: and that Cappadocia, by which name a considerable part of the lot of Togarmah was in process of time known to the Greeks, was very well stocked with an excellent breed of horses and mules, and that the inhabitants were esteemed good horsemen, is attested by several^a ancient Heathen writers. And, for a further confirmation of the truth of this hypothesis, there are to be found footsteps of the very name of Togarmah, in some of those names, whereby some of the inhabitants of this tract were known to the old writers. Thus Strabo^b tells us, that the Trocmi dwelt in the confines of Pontus and Cappadocia; and several towns lying on the east of the river Halys, and so in Cappadocia, are assigned to them by Ptolemy. They are by Cicero called Trogmi, and Trocmeni by Stephanus; and in the council of Chalcedon they are called Trocmades or Trogmades, there being frequent mention made in that council of Cyriacus Bishop of the Trogmades. All which names plainly appear to be the same originally, and are in all likelihood formed from Togarmah, or (as the word is usually ren-

^a Solinus of Cappad. Dionysius Perieg. v. 973. et seq. Claudian in Ruffin. lib. ii. Strab. lib. xi.

^b Strab. lib. xii.

PART I. dered by Greek writers) Torgama; for they retain in them all the radical letters of the name of their progenitor, except the terminative one, if that be a radical. And thus we have found out the original situation of the nation of Gomer in general, and also the particular seats of the three families of Ashkenaz, Ripath, and Togarmah, lying orderly one by the other, within the general bounds of the said nation; and so agreeable in these, as well as other particulars, to the rules above laid down.

15. Of the colonies of the nation of Gomer, and first of the Cimmerii by the Bosphorus Cimmerius, now Strait of Caffa. And though this be sufficient to our present undertaking, yet I suppose it will not be unacceptable to the reader, to say a little of the colonies, which coming from the nation of Gomer, in process of time spread themselves further and further, and settled themselves in several parts of Europe, and particularly in this our island. Herodotus then, as he tells us, that a people called Cimmerii formerly dwelt in that tract of Lesser Asia, which we assign to Gomer; so he tells us withal, that these people sent a colony to Palus Mæotis, or the Mæotic Lake, on the north of the Euxine Sea, and so gave the name of Bosphorus Cimmerius to the strait between the Euxine Sea and the Mæotic Lake, now commonly called the Strait of Caffa.

16. The Germans descended from Gomer. This colony of the Cimmerii increasing in process of time, and so spreading themselves still by new colonies further westward, came along the Danube, and settled themselves in the country, which from them has been called Germany. For as to the testimony of the ancients, Diodorus Siculus, as Mr. Mede observes, affirms, that the Germans had their original from the Cimmerians; and the Jews to this day, as the same learned person remarks, call them Ashkenazim of Ashkenaz, as being descended from that branch of Gomer. Indeed they themselves retain plain marks enough of their descent, both in the name Cimbri, and also in their common name Germans, or, as they call themselves, Germen; which is but a small variation from Gemren or Gomren; and this last is easily contracted from Gomerren, that is, Gomeræans: for the ter-

mination *en* is a plural termination in the German language; and from the singular Gomer is formed Gemren, by the same analogy that from *brother* is formed *brethren*. The other name Cimbri is easily framed from Cimmerii; and by that name the inhabitants of the north-west peninsula of old Germany, now-a-days called Jutland, were known not only to ancient but latter writers; and from this name of the inhabitants, the said peninsula is called Cimbrica Chersonesus, and that frequently in modern authors.

Out of Germany the descendants of Gomer spread themselves into Gaul or France. To prove this Mr. Camden quotes the testimony of Josephus, where he says, that those called by the Greeks Galatæ, were originally called Gomerites. Which words may be understood, either of the Asiatick Galatæ, commonly called by us Galatians, or the European Galatæ, commonly called by us Gauls. If it be taken in the former sense, then it is a testimony for the first seating of Gomer in that tract of the Lesser Asia we have above assigned him, and on this account it is before taken notice of by us. If it be taken in the latter sense, it cannot rationally be understood of the first settlement of Gomer; it being altogether absurd to imagine, that, upon the first dispersion of mankind, Gomer should pass by so many countries lying nearer to the place whence he set out, and come to one of the utmost countries of Europe, namely, that since called Gaul, and there first settle himself. If therefore what Josephus says of the Galatæ being originally called Gomerites from Gomer, is to be understood of the European Galatæ, or Gauls, it cannot be rationally, as I said, understood of the first settlement of Gomer, but it must be necessarily understood of some colony of the descendants of Gomer, who in succeeding ages spread themselves as far as to Gaul in Europe, and settling there were the progenitors of the European Galatæ or Gauls, called in the more early ages of the world Gomerites, from Gomer the father of the nation whence they sprang. But to prove the descent of

CHAP. III.
SECT. II.

17.

The Gauls
descended
of Gomer.

PART I. the Gauls from Gomer, Mr. Camden produces not only the forecited testimony of Josephus, (from whom, in all probability, Zonaras took his information, which therefore, though mentioned by Mr. Camden as a distinct testimony, yet may rather be looked on as one and the same,) but also the testimonies of other writers; as of Appian, who in his *Illyrics* says expressly, that the *Celtæ or Gauls were otherwise called Cimbri*. Those Barbarians, whom Marius defeated, Cicero plainly terms Gauls; *Caius Marius*, says he, *put a check upon the Gaulish forces, which were pouring into Italy*. And all historians agree that these were the Cimbri; and the coat armour of Beles their king, digged up at Aix in Provence, where Marius routed them, does evince the same: for these words, *Beleos Cimbros*, were engraven upon it in a strange character. Again, Lucan calls that ruffian that was hired to kill Marius, a Cimbrian; whereas Livy and others affirm him to have been a Gaul; and by Plutarch the Cimbri are called Galloscythians.

18. I have here produced these testimonies from Mr. Camden, for the same reason he cites them, namely, in order to make it the more plain, that the ancient inhabitants of this our isle, the Britons, were also descendants of Gomer. For it is not to be questioned, but that this isle was first peopled from those countries of the European continent, which lie next to it; and consequently from Germany or Gaul, and of the two, rather from Gaul, as lying the nearest of the two. Indeed to me there seems to be no need of adding any other evidence, that the Britons were descended originally of Gomer, than the very name whereby their offspring, the Welsh, call themselves to this very day, to wit, Kumero, or Cymro, and Kumeri: and in like manner they call a Welsh woman, Kumeraes; and their language, Kumeraeg. Which several words carry in them so plain marks of the primitive word, whence they were derived, that if there be any regard to be had to etymology in the matter in hand, as confessedly there is, it cannot be reasonably doubted, but the true old Britons,

The old Britons, or Welsh, descendants of Gomer; as also the Saxons, or English.

or Welsh, are descendants of Gomer. And since it has been also observed above, that the Germans were likely descendants of Gomer, particularly the Cimbri, to whom the Saxons, especially the Angles, were near neighbours; hence it follows, that our ancestors likewise, who succeeded the old Britons in these parts of this isle, were descended of the same son of Japhet, namely, Gomer.

CHAP. III.
SECT. II.

It is time now to proceed to the other nations of the branch of Japhet, and therefore to return to the Lesser Asia. For as the nation of Gomer first seated itself in the northern tract thereof; so the nation of Javan first seated itself in the southern tract of the same. And this appears, not only from the name of a country in this tract called Ionia, (a name plainly derived from Javan, as shall be shewn anon,) but also from the situation of the four families of Javan's sons within this tract, which are in this order mentioned by Moses, Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim, Gen. x. 4. I shall take them in such order as is most agreeable to a geographical description; and for that reason shall begin with Tarshish.

19.

The situation of the nation of Javan.

That Tarshish seated his family in the eastern part of the southern tract of the Lesser Asia, is very probable on several considerations. For Tarsus, a chief town of Cilicia, carries in its very name evident marks of its being first founded either by Tarshish himself, or else by some of his descendants, who so called it in honour of their progenitor. And Josephus expressly affirms, that not only this city was so called from Tarshish, but also that Cilicia, or the country round it, was originally known by the name of Tarshish. It is scarcely to be doubted, but this was the Tarshish to which the Prophet Jonas thought to *flee from the presence of the Lord*; (Jon. i. 3.) as also that this principally was the Tarshish mentioned so often by the Prophets, on account of its trading with Tyre. Of the *ships and sea of Tarshish* we shall speak by and by, when we come to take notice of the colonies of Tarshish.

20.

The situation of Tarshish, son of Javan.

To the west of Tarshish adjoined the portion appertaining to Kittim or Cittim; which word having a plural

21.

The situation of the

PART I.
Kittim, de-
scendants
of Javan.

termination, does in all probability imply, as hath been before observed, the descendants of Keth, or Ketians. However this be, whether Cittim be a singular or plural, there are these reasons for placing this family in these parts. Ptolemy tells us of a country here, called Cetis; and Homer in *Odyss. iv.* mentions a people called Cetii, who were thought to take their name from a river Cetius in the same quarter. But it is remarkable, that the Seventy Interpreters render Kittim by Κήτιοι, Ketii, or Cetii, exactly agreeable to the name mentioned by Homer. And therefore it is probable, that both people and river were so named from Ceth, the son of Javan. Josephus will have the isle of Cyprus to have been the seat of the Cittim, because therein was a town called Citium, of good note. But it is not to be questioned, but the continent was peopled before the island, and consequently that the Cittim first seated themselves on the continent; from which they might probably enough send, in process of time, some colony over into the neighbouring island of Cyprus; who, building the forementioned town, might name it Citium in memory of the family they were descended from. Of other colonies of this family we shall speak as we go along.

22.
The situa-
tion of Eli-
shah, son
of Javan.

Go we on now to find out the first situation of the two remaining families of this nation, namely, of Elishah and Dodanim. And both these we shall find some footsteps of, in the western parts of the tract assigned to the nation of Javan, that is, on the western coast of the southern tract of the Lesser Asia. For here, upwards or northwards, were anciently seated the *Æoles* or *Æolians*, who, as they carry some marks of their pedigree in their name, so are expressly affirmed by Josephus to have been descended from Elishah, and from him to have taken their name. And since the country peculiarly called in after-ages *Ionia* joined to the south of what was in the said ages peculiarly called *Æolia*, it is probable that the said *Ionia* (so peculiarly called, perhaps, from Javan's living there with his son Elishah) was possessed originally by the sons of Eli-

shah, or else partly by them, and partly by the Dodanim; of whom next.

CHAP. III.
SECT. II.

On the same western coast, south of the family of Eli-shah, may the family of Dodanim be supposed to have first planted itself. For there we find in ancient writers a country called Doris, which may not improbably be derived originally from Dodanim; especially if this be a plural, as the termination seems to import; and so the singular was Dodan, which being softened into Doran, the Greeks might easily frame from thence Dorus, whom they assert to have been the father of the Dorians. Certain it is from the Greek writers themselves, that the Dores, or Dorians, were a considerable part of the body of the Greeks: insomuch that *Dorica Castra*, the Doric Camp, is taken by Virgil to denote the whole Grecian camp. Wherefore it is very probable that they had their extraction from one of the sons of Javan, the father of the Greek nation; and distinguished themselves from the other families of Javan, by assuming to themselves the name of the father of their family, as the others did; and consequently called themselves Dodanim, which the Greeks moulded into Dores. That such was the extraction of the Dorians, and the reason consequently of their name, appears the more likely from what the Greeks themselves say of Dorus, the father of the Dorians, namely, that he was the son of Neptune. For as among the three sons of Noah, Shem or Sem is reasonably supposed to have been the Ζην, Zen, or Ζεύς, Zeus, of the Greeks; so Japhet might be denoted not only by Iapetus, but also by Neptune, and might be esteemed by them the God of the Sea, because by his posterity were the isles of the Sea inhabited. Hence what they say of the Dorians being descended from Dorus the son of Neptune, is very applicable to the Dodanim, descended of Dodan the grandson, strictly speaking, or, according to the usual way of speaking among the Hebrews, the son of Japhet. As to the change of Dodan, or Dodanim, into Dorus, or Dores, it is the more likely by reason of the great likeness there is be-

23.

The situa-
tion of the
Dodanim,
descendants
of Javan.

PART I. tween the Hebrew *d* and *r*; insomuch that the Dodanim are in some copies written Rodanim. And since there is such an instance actually extant of the change of the said letter, in the first syllable of the name we are speaking of, it may be the more easily supposed, that a like change might happen as to the second syllable; and that some might write and pronounce Doranim, instead of Dodanim. And upon this supposition, the Greek words Δῶρος, *Dorus*, or Δῶρες, *Dores*, answer so well to the Hebrew Doran, or Doranim, that it may be a good inducement, according to our tenth rule, to esteem the Dores among the Greeks to have been the descendants of Javan, mentioned by Moses under the name of Dodanim; and consequently that the first situation of these Dodanim was in the province of the Lesser Asia, called formerly Doris. I have insisted the longer on this first settlement of the Dodanim, because it has not been taken notice of, as I know of, by any other. Some have been so extravagant, as to suppose the first settlement of the Dodanim, or Rhodanim, to have been as far as in Gaul, about the river Rhodanus or Rhone; others have placed it much nearer, namely, on the western coast of Greece, where we find mention made by Greek writers of a place called Dodone; near to which was an oak, or rather a grove of oaks, sacred to Jupiter, and celebrated on account of the oracles there said to be given in the most early ages. But even this seems to be too far for the first settlement of the Dodanim; which therefore, much more agreeable to our second, third, fourth, and fifth rules, and consequently to reason on which the said rules are built, may be supposed to have been in the country of Doris in the Lesser Asia. Hence some might pass over to the isle of Rhodes, which some will have take its name from these Dodanim, otherwise called Rhodanim: which seems to have been the opinion of the Seventy Interpreters, by their rendering the Hebrew word by Ῥοδῖοι, *Rhodii*.

24.
Of the colonies of
Javan.

Having shewn, where in probability the nation of Javan and the four families thereof were at first seated; I pro-

ceed now to speak of their colonies, which in process of time were sent from their first settlements. And I shall begin with the colonies of the two families last spoken of, viz. of Elishah and Dodanim. For these lying on the western coast of the Lesser Asia, as they increased, peopled by degrees the many isles that lie in the adjoining sea, and so at length spread themselves into the European continent.

CHAP. III.
SECT. II.

The family of Elishah seem to have possessed themselves of most, or at least the most considerable isles, lying in the sea between Europe and Asia; forasmuch as they are called by the Prophet Ezekiel, ch. xxvii. ver. 7. the *isles of Elishah*. What the Prophet there says, concerning the *blue and purple from the isles of Elishah*, is very applicable to the isles of this sea; forasmuch as they did abound in that commodity, and are on that account celebrated by common authors; and some of them took names from it.

25.

And first,
of the colonies of Elishah.

And as the isles lying in this sea were thus originally known by the name of the Isles of Elishah, so it is a probable conjecture, that the sea itself was originally called the Sea of Elishah. Which name, though it wore away in process of time in other parts, yet seems to have been all along preserved in that part, which to this day is frequently called the Hellespont, as if one should say, Elisæ Pontus, i. e. the Sea of Elisha.

26.

The Sea of Elishah, or Hellespont.

And this derivation of the word Hellespont will appear yet more likely, when we consider, that the descendants of Elishah passing over into Europe came afterwards to be termed *Ἕλληνες*, *Hellenes*, and their country *Ἑλλάς*, *Hellas*, a name which in process of time became common to all Greece: in which there were other footsteps of Elishah's name to be found formerly, as in the city and province of Elis in the Peloponnesus, in the city of Eleusis in Attica, and in the river Elissus, or Ilissus, in the same province. Some think the Campi Elisii, so much celebrated among the Greeks, to have been so called from Elishah.

27.

Other remainders of Elishah's name in Greece.

As to the Dodanim or Dorians, not only the Spartans

PART I. or Lacedæmonians, if I remember aright, looked on themselves to be of Doric extraction, but there were also re-

28.
The colonies of the Dodanim.

mainders of the very name to be found in these parts of Greece formerly. For in the province of Messene in the Peloponnese, there was a town called Dorion; and of the other tract of Greece lying above the Isthmus of the Peloponnese, there was a considerable part called Doria, Dorica, or Doris: to say nothing of Dodona already mentioned. In a word, all the Greek nation is sometimes denoted by authors under the name of Dore; as has been before observed out of Virgil, *Æneid. ii.*

29.
The colonies of the Kittim.

We have observed before, that the family of Cittim, or Kittim, first seated themselves between Tarshish to the east, and Elishah and Dodanim to the west. Lying thus open to the sea only on the south, they sent probably their first colony into the neighbouring isle of Cyprus. But in process of time wanting more room, and therefore seeking out further, and finding the lower parts of Greece already inhabited by the descendants of Elishah and Dodanim, they still proceeded on, coasting along the western shores of Greece, till they came to the upper or northern parts of it, which not being yet inhabited, some of them planted themselves there: whilst some others of them descrying the coast of Italy, went and settled themselves in that country. Hence it comes to pass in probability, that both Macedonia in Greece, and also Italy, are denoted by the name of Cittim in Scripture.

30.
Macedonia called the land of Chettiim.

The Author of the book of Maccabees plainly denotes Macedonia by the *land of Chettiim*, when he says, that *Alexander, son of Philip the Macedonian, came out of the land of Chettiim*, 1 Macc. i. 1. So also ch. viii. ver. 5. of the same book, the said Author calls Perseus King of Macedonia, King of the Citims. Indeed it is thought, not without grounds, that the name of Macedonia was originally derived, at least partly, from the Citim, or Cetim; especially since the more ancient name of this country was Macetia; whence the Macedonians themselves are otherwise termed Macetæ.

The place of Scripture, where Chittim, by the consent of almost all expositors, denotes the Romans, is Dan. xi. 29, 30. For by the *ships of Chittim*, there mentioned, is generally understood the Roman fleet, by the coming whereof Antiochus was obliged to desist from his designs against Egypt. There are also several footsteps of the name Chittim, or Chetim, to be found in Italy among ancient writers: as a city in Latium, called Cetia, and mentioned by Dionysius Halicarnasseus; another city among the Volsci, called Echetia, mentioned by Stephanus; also a river near Cumæ, called Cetus, the water whereof was endued, as Aristotle relates, with a petrifying quality. Nay, there are not wanting authors, who expressly assert the Romans and Latins to have had their extraction from the Citii or Cetii; as Eusebius, Cedrenus, Suidas, whose testimonies are produced by the learned Bochart. And this learned person observes further, that the very word Chetim does in the Arabick tongue denote a thing *hid*: so that the name Latini might be originally only a translation of the old eastern name Chetim.

CHAP. III.
SECT. II.

31.

The Romans denoted by the Chittim.

There remain now only the colonies of Tarshish to be spoken of. And wheresoever else they seated themselves, it is highly probable, that Tartessus, a city and adjoining country in Spain, and much celebrated by the ancients for its wealth, was a colony of Tarshish. For the name Tarshish is, by an easy and frequent change, turned into Tartish; from whence Tartessus is regularly enough framed. Besides, Mr. Bochart has observed, that Polybius, reciting the words of a league made between the Romans and Carthaginians, mentions a place under the name of Tarseium, and Stephanus expressly says, that Tarseium was a city near Hercules' Pillars; the situation whereof agrees well enough with that of Tartessus. Again, what is said by Ezekiel, ch. xxvii. ver. 12. agrees very well with this Tarshish: for the words of the Prophet run thus; *Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs*, i. e. the fairs of Tyre. Now,

32.

The colonies of Tarshish.

PART 1. as it has been before observed, Tartessus was celebrated among the ancients for its multitude of riches; and the metals mentioned by the Prophet were such as Spain did formerly abound with: and the extraordinary riches of this country might be the great inducement to the descendants of Tarshish to plant a colony here, rather than in other countries lying nearer to their original plantation. Not but that some are of opinion, that the Etrusci in Italy, otherwise called Tyrrheni and Tusci, were a colony of Tarshish. And indeed if it be considered, that it is usual to add an initial *E* to several derivatives, that did not belong to their primitives, there will be left Trusci, which word contains in it, as it is, the radicals of Tarshish; and perhaps the word was originally written Thrushshi, or Trussi, whence it was turned into Trusci and Etrusci, and thence into Tusci or Thusci. It is further observable, that these people were otherwise called Tyrrheni, or Tyrseni; which has a very great affinity to Tarshish, and so may easily be deduced originally from Tarsus, that is, Tarshish.

33.
Sea and
ships of
Tarshish,
what.

However this be, certain it seems, that the descendants of Tarshish were the most expert seamen, and consequently the chief merchants of the early ages of the world. Hence the whole Mediterranean Sea seems to have been at length comprehended under the name of the Sea of Tarshish; though it is probable that at first the name might belong only to the sea lying near the original settlement of Tarshish, that is, near to Cilicia. And because the descendants of Tarshish were wont to make longer voyages, and to adventure further into the open sea, than others did in those days; it is not unlikely but they had ships built for this purpose, and so of a somewhat different make, both as to the size and shape, from the vessels commonly used by others: and hence it is probable, that all vessels, built for longer voyages and greater burdens, came to be called *ships of Tarshish*; because they were built like the *ships of Tarshish*, properly so called. This to me seems a very natural and easy way, whereby to account for Solomon's

navy being called *a navy of Tarshish*^a; and also for the ships, that were built by Jehoshaphat's order, being called *ships of Tarshish*^b. For it is evident from what is said in Scripture of the ships of Jehoshaphat, that they could not be called *ships of Tarshish*, as trading either to Tarshish, originally so called, or to any colony of it called by that name, nor yet from their sailing on the *Sea of Tarshish*, or Mediterranean Sea. For the Scripture tells us, that these ships were broken at Ezion-gaber, which was a place confessedly on the Red Sea: and besides the Scripture tells us, that these ships were designed *to go to Ophir for gold*; which Ophir is confessedly a place in the East-Indies, of which more by and by. And though the Scripture does not expressly say the same of Solomon's navy, yet there are circumstances which necessarily require us to conceive, that the place, to which the said navy went *once in three years*, was likewise Ophir, or the East-Indies. For, among the commodities brought home by that navy, there is express mention made of *ivory, apes, and peacocks*. Now (to say nothing of the *apes* and *peacocks*, because the true import of the Hebrew words so rendered may perhaps be questioned) it is certain that neither Tartessus or Tarshish in Spain, nor any other colony of Tarshish on the Mediterranean Sea, could be a likely place for merchandising with *ivory*; because, as these countries do not now, so we do not read that ever they did abound with Elephants. Whereas on the other hand the East-Indies have all along been and still are famous for their Elephants, and consequently the most likely place for Solomon's navy to go to for *ivory*, as well as gold and silver. This consideration requiring us to conceive the place, whither Solomon's navy went, to be the East-Indies, it does by consequence require us to conceive the said navy to be built in the Red Sea. And indeed it is highly probable, that Jehoshaphat was not the first King of Judah, that attempted to send a navy to Ophir; but that he did it in imitation of King

^a 1 Kings x. 22.^b 1 Kings xxii. 48.

PART I. Solomon, who had formerly sent a navy thither, and that frequently with good success; whereby Jehoshaphat was encouraged to attempt the same. Upon the whole therefore it appears, that the navy of Solomon was called a *navy of Tarshish*, and the ships of Jehoshaphat were called *ships of Tarshish*, probably for this reason, because they were made after the fashion of those ships which the merchants of Tarshish made use of, when they undertook longer voyages, and therein put out more to open sea. Which further may be, by the way, the reason why the Seventy Interpreters do sometimes render *ships of Tarshish*, by *ships of the sea*; namely, in opposition to smaller vessels, made use of in shorter voyages, or by coasters.

34. I have but one observation more to add in reference to Tarshish, which is this, that it is rendered by the Septuagint, sometimes *Carthage*, sometimes *the Carthaginians*. Now, that the Carthaginians in Afric were a colony of Tarshish, does no where appear, either from sacred or heathen authors. On the contrary, it is so certain, as to be, I think, universally allowed among the learned, that the said Carthaginians were a colony of the Tyrians or Phœnicians, and so descendants of Canaan. It is also generally believed, and that not without grounds, that this colony came from the Land of Canaan, at the time when Joshua invaded it; and so long before the prophecy either of Isaiah or Ezekiel, wherein Tarshish is by the Septuagint or Seventy Interpreters rendered, in the former *Carthage*, in the latter *Carthaginians*. From all which it may be reasonably inferred, that the forementioned Prophets by Tarshish could not mean Carthage, or the Carthaginians, but either Tarshish originally so called, or rather Tarshish in Spain, called by the Greeks Tartessus. That the Seventy Interpreters should be mistaken in this their translation of the word Tarshish, is the more easy to be thought, because it is apparent, that they are mistaken as to the rendering of several other proper names in one of the said places of Scripture referred to, viz. Ezek. xxvii. But a consideration offers itself to me, which may both justify the Se-

Tarshish, in
what sense
it may be
rendered
Carthage,
or Cartha-
ginians.

venty Interpreters in this matter, and also confirm our hypothesis. It is to be considered, whether the Carthaginians were not masters, not only of the western part at least of the Mediterranean Sea, but also of the adjacent parts of Spain, and so of Tartessus or the Tarshish therein situated, for some time before, and at the time the Septuagint Version was made. If so, then the Seventy Interpreters might render Tarshish in the forecited places by Carthage, or the Carthaginians; because these were then masters of Tartessus, or Tarshish in Spain, which is most probably to be understood in Ezekiel, and which was also understood by them in Isaiah.

Having shewn the first settlements of the four families of Javan, and their most known colonies, I have somewhat to add in reference to Javan himself, the father of this whole nation. I have then above observed, that there were formerly remainders of his name to be met with in the Lesser Asia, where was the first settlement of his descendants. It is here to be observed further, that it is very probable, that the colonies that passed over in process of time into Europe, though they were distinguished in reference to their distinct families by distinct names, yet were all at first comprehended under the name of Ionians. Indeed the Scholiast on Aristophanes^c, as Bochart has observed, expressly says, that *all the Greeks were by the Barbarians called Iaones, i. e. Ionians*. And was it not so, it will not be so easy to account, how the name of the Ionian Sea came to be extended so far anciently, as quite to the western coasts of Greece, and that northwards up as far as to the western coast of Macedonia. Now it is plain that the name Ionians was derived from the founder of this nation, Javan. For the Hebrew word יָוָן, setting aside the vowels, which are of disputable authority, may be read Ion, or Iaon. But supposing the word to have been all along pronounced with the same vowels it has in the Hebrew text at present; it is granted by the

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35.

Remarks as to the remainders of the name Javan in the Iones or Iaones.

^c In Acharnan.

PART I. learned in the said language, that the true pronunciation of the Hebrew vowel *kametz* carries in it a mixture of our vowel *o* as well as *a*: so that the Hebrew יי is very regularly turned into the Greek 'Ιάων *Iaon*, whence by contraction may be made 'Ιων, *Ion*. Since therefore not only the forementioned Scholiast, but also old Homer styles those who were commonly called 'Ιωνες, *Iones*, by the name of 'Ιάονες, *Iaones*; it is not to be doubted but the Ionians were so called from Javan, the founder of their nation. Agreeably to what has been said, we find the country of Greece denoted in Dan. xi. 1. by the name of Javan. And we may also with ease determine hereby the dispute, whether the European Ionians were colonies of the Asiatic, or these of them. For when the Athenians affirm, that the Asiatic Ionians were a colony of theirs, if it be true, it can be so only in reference to some colony sent from Athens over into Asia, in the latter ages of the world. For as to the original plantation of the world, the Asiatic Ionia lying nearer to the place whence mankind was dispersed than the European Ionia, reason will tell us, that the Asiatic Ionia must be in a natural order first planted or peopled, and afterwards the European Ionia by colonies from the other. And this is no other than what is positively asserted by some of the most ancient Heathen writers: for Hecateus in Strabo affirms, that the Athenians or Ionians of Europe came from those of Asia.

36. I have now gone through the two nations of Gomer and Javan; which I have insisted the longer upon, not only by reason of their several respective families, mentioned by Moses, but also because by these were peopled the greatest part of Europe, that is, the countries of the world best known to us: on which account the fuller was the information given, the more acceptable I judged it would be to the reader. We shall make quicker dispatch as to the nations following; among whom I shall speak next of Tubal and Meshech. I mention these two nations together, because they are so mentioned, not only

Of Tubal and Meshech, and why put together.

by Moses, but also elsewhere in the Scripture: from whence we may reasonably infer, according to our sixth rule, that they were nations adjoining one to the other, and so they will appear to have been.

For to begin with Meshech, as joining on to the nation of Gomer eastward, and so settling at first in part of Cappadocia and Armenia. What, according to the present vowels in the Hebrew, is Meshech, was by the Seventy Interpreters and others read Mosoch; and hence it is very probable, that they are the same called by the Greeks *Μόσχοι*, *Moschi*, who were seated in these parts, and from whom no question the neighbouring ridge of hills took the name of the Montes Moschici, or Moschic Hills, mentioned by old geographers. As for Meshech, mentioned in our translation, Psal. cxx. 5. it may be much better looked on as an appellative, and so it is rendered by the Seventy, and also in other ancient Versions. It is in a manner certain, that it is not to be understood of the Meshech we are here speaking of.

To the north of Meshech adjoined the first plantation of Tubal, who by Josephus is expressly affirmed to be the father of the Asiatic Iberians; the same historian asserting, that whom the Greeks called Iberi, these were originally called Thobeli from Tubal. Add hereunto, that Ptolemy places in these parts a city called Thabilaca, which carries in it great affinity to Thubal. Mr. Mede thinks, that the Alybe, mentioned by Homer in his second Iliad, lay in this tract, and that from it came afterwards the name of Albania, whereby some part of the lot of Tubal was in succeeding times distinguished. Now this Alybe he conceives to have been a name corrupted from Abyle, and this from Tabyle, an easy derivative from Tubal. Likewise Mr. Bochart supposes the Tibareni, a people mentioned by old authors in this tract, to have been so called from Tubal, by the change of *l* into *r*, which is very frequent.

That Meshech and Tubal did originally seat themselves in the tracts we have assigned them, is not only probable

PART I. from the remainders of their names therein to be found, but is further confirmed, and in a manner put beyond dispute, by what is said of those two nations in Ezek. xxvii. 13. *Tubal and Meshech, they were thy merchants: they traded in slaves and vessels of brass in thy market.* What is here said of the merchandise of Tubal and Meshech agrees excellently well with the countries assigned by us for their first plantations. For it is evident from the testimonies of Heathen writers, that the Pontic regions, especially Cappadocia, was remarkable formerly for slaves; as also that in the country of the Tibareni and Iberia there was the best sort of brass. Mr. Bochart observes, that the Hebrew word translated in this place *brass* is sometimes rendered *steel*. And hence he remarks, that as a piece of iron or brass is in the Arabic tongue called *Tubal*, probably from its coming out of the country of *Tubal*; so it is likely that from the excellent steel that was made in this country, some of the inhabitants thereof were denominated by the name of *Chalybes* among the Greeks; the word *Chalybs* in the Greek language signifying *steel*.

40. Concerning these two nations it remains only to observe further in reference to their colonies, that, whereas the Spaniards have a tradition among them, that they are descended from *Tubal*, it cannot be reasonably understood in any other sense, than that they are a colony of the Asiatic *Iberi*, and so descendants at some remove from *Tubal*. This tradition seems to be grounded on the ancient name of the Spaniards, and whereby they were principally, if not wholly, known to the elder Greeks. For in the writings of these, the Spaniards are denoted by the name of *Iberi*; and, to distinguish them from the Asiatic *Iberi*, they are peculiarly styled *Celtiberi*. There is still a remainder of this old name preserved in the river of Spain, called to this day *Ebro*, and formerly by the Greeks and Latins, *Iberus*.

41. That the *Moscovites* or *Muscovites* in Europe were a colony originally of *Meshech*, or *Mosoch*, called by the

Of the colonies of
Tubal.

The colonies of Me-
shech.

Greeks Moschi, is very probable, not only on account of likeness of names, but also of the respective situations of the Asiatic and European Moschi one to the other. Add to this another consideration, that whereas in our and some other translations, the Hebrew text, Ezek. xxxviii. 2. is rendered thus; *The chief prince*, or, as it is in the margin of our Bibles, *the prince of the chief of Meshech and Tubal*; in other translations, and particularly in the Septuagint, it is thus rendered, *The Prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal*. The thing is, the Hebrew word רֹשׁ, *Rosh*, by some is taken to be an appellative, by others a proper name. The learned Bochart has observed from the Nubian Geographer, that the river in Armenia, called by the Greeks Araxes, is by the Arabians called Rosh. And hence he not only probably infers, from other instances of the like nature, that the people that lived in the country about that river were also denominated Rosh; but also proves from Josephus Bengorion, that there were a people in these parts, named Rossi. Now the Moschi and Rossi being thus neighbours in Asia, their colonies kept together in Europe, those of the Moschi seating themselves in the province of Muscovy, properly so called, that is, the parts about the city Moscow: those of the Rossi seating themselves in the parts adjoining on the south. For the learned Bochart has observed from Tzetzes, that the people called Tauri, and from whom the Taurica Chersonesus took its name, were in the days of Tzetzes better known by the name of Ros, than of Tauri. Upon the whole therefore it may be very probably believed, that the Muscovites and Russians in Europe were colonies of Meshech, or else of Meshech and Tubal jointly.

We have now gone through four of the seven nations descended of Japhet, viz. the nations of Gomer, Javan, Meshech, and Tubal: the three remaining to be spoken of are Magog, Madai, and Tiras. The first of these, Magog, is, by the testimony of Josephus, Eustathius, St. Jerome, Theodoret, and, as Mr. Mede expresses it, by the consent

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42.

The original plantation of Magog.

PART 1. of all men, placed north of Tubal, and esteemed the father of the Scythians that dwelt on the east and north-east of the Euxine Sea. This situation is confirmed by the Scripture itself, Ezek. xxxviii. 2. *Set thy face against Gog, in, or of, the land of Magog, the Prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal, &c.* For hence we learn, that the land of Magog must be near to that of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal; and it could be so (for reasons depending on what has been already said, and is to be said, concerning the situation of the other nations of Japhet's posterity) only on the north. The learned Mr. Mede has observed, that the name Gog signifies the very same with Magog, the letter *mem* being but an *heemantic* letter, i. e. not a radical, but an additional letter to the radix or primitive word. And he conceives, that it pleased the Spirit of God to distinguish thus between the land and the people of the land, by calling the people Gog, and the land, the land of Magog.

43. The learned Bochart conjectures, that the mountain called by the Greek *Καύκασος*, *Caucasus*, took its name from Gog, as inhabiting it, or the parts about it: for he observes that these words גֹּג-חַסָּן, *Gog-chasan*, denote, in the neighbouring oriental tongues, as much as Gog's Fort; and from Gog-chasan the Greeks framed the name *Καύκασος*, *Caucasus*.

44. But the name of Gog was entirely preserved in the name Gogarene; whereby was formerly denoted a country in those parts, as we learn both from Strabo and Stephanus. And from hence perhaps came the name of Georgia, whereby at this very day is denoted a considerable tract in this quarter. I know it is commonly said to take this name from St. George, the Cappadocian martyr, whom the inhabitants (as well as our forefathers in England) are said to have in great reverence, as their tutelar saint and patron: though others say, the name was taken from another George, a Cappadocian Bishop, by whom they were converted to Christianity; and some suppose these people to be called Georgians, corruptly for Gordiæans,

from the mountain of this name, mentioned in the preceding chapter. But since it appears that there was a country in this very tract, (from which the Gordiæan Hills are at a considerable distance,) which was called Gogarene by the Greeks; and since this word is easily changed into Gorgaene, or Gorgene, and this is without difficulty moulded into Georgia, I leave the reader to judge whether this does not appear to be the most probable conjecture concerning the etymology of the name Georgia, whereby a considerable tract about the Euxine and the Caspian Sea is at present denoted. Indeed Pliny expressly reckons the Georgi among the nations about the Caspian Sea; and it is not unlikely but that this may be a corrupt reading for Gogareni, some transcriber in former times not knowing what to make of Gogareni, or Gorgeni, and so turning it into Georgi.

That Gog does denote the Scythians in the Prophecy of Ezekiel, may be rationally inferred from Ezek. xxxix. 3. where God speaks of Gog thus: *I will smite thy bow out of thy left hand, and will cause thine arrows to fall out of thy right hand.* Now it is too well known to the learned to need proof, that the Scythians were remarkably famous of old for their skill in the use of the bow and arrow: insomuch that some among them, from their winking with one eye when they shot, are said to have had given them the name of Arimaspi; that is, *one-eyed*. Nay, it is thought by some, not without grounds, that the very name of Scythians was derived from *shooting*; forasmuch as in the German tongue shooters are called *scutten*.

I must now speak something of the colonies of Magog. In the panegyric of Tibullus to Messala, we find mention made by the poet of a people about the river Tanais, called Magini, which plainly carries in it a great affinity to Magog; whence is naturally made Magogini, and thence by abbreviation Magini. So that it is not to be doubted, but these Magini were descendants of Magog at some distance, who spreading themselves further and

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45.

Gog denotes the Scythians in Scripture.

46.

The colonies of Magog.

PART I. further, came at length as far as to the river Tanais. Indeed it is not altogether improbable, that the Mæotic Lake, into which the Tanais runs, took its name from the descendants of Magog that settled about it. For from Magog is regularly made Magogitis, or Magotis; which last the Greeks might easily mould into Maiotis, which the Latins and we render Mæotis or Mæotic.

47.
Hierapolis
called
Magog.

We do indeed read in Pliny, that the city in Syria called Hierapolis was by the Syrians called Magog; which name it is most likely thought to have taken from the Scythians, when they made an excursion into Syria, and took this city. On the like account it is that the city in Judea called by the Jews Bethsan, was also called in after-ages Scythopolis. Now Hierapolis being thus called Magog, it is not improbable, but the adjoining part of Syria might be from thence called Magogene; which afterwards might be moulded into Gomagene, and so into Comagene: by which name the northern part of Syria was denoted among the Greeks and Latins.

48.
The first
plantation
of Madai,
according
to the
common
opinion.

Proceed we now to Madai, who is almost universally looked upon to have been the father of the Medes, (so often mentioned in Scripture with the Persians, to whom they were neighbours,) and consequently to have settled in the country on the Caspian Sea, called Media. This is thought to be put beyond dispute, in that the Scripture all along denotes these Medes by the name of Madai in the Hebrew text.

49.
Reasons for
dissenting
from the
common
opinion.

But, notwithstanding, the learned Mr. Mede is of a different opinion herein, and follows not the common opinion, as being repugnant to several of the rules above laid down, but especially to the first rule, and so to the Scripture itself. For the country of the Madai or Medes, mentioned in other places of Scripture, lay so far to the north-east of the Holy Land, and so of Egypt, that the way of travelling from the one to the other was by land, and not by sea; and consequently the said Media cannot be tolerably comprehended under the name of *the isles of the Gentiles*, which are the countries expressly said by Moses,

in the place where he does professedly speak of the first plantations of mankind, to be *divided* or possessed by the sons of Japhet. Further, this situation of Madai the son of Japhet seems to cross the fourth and fifth rules above laid down: forasmuch as hereby the lot of Madai seems to have been wholly separated from the lots of the rest of his brethren, and so to have lain not within the general lot of the nation of Japhet his father, but within the general lot of the nation of Shem.

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On these considerations, which are not of little weight, Mr. Mede thinks it reasonable to suppose, that the Medes mentioned in Scripture so often, and that, too, frequently in conjunction with the Persians, were so named from one Madai, that in process of time was descended of Shem. And this is the less improbable, because those Madai or Medes are not mentioned in Scripture, till the latter ages of the sacred history of the Old Testament.

50.
The Medes
in Scrip-
ture,
whence
probably so
named.

As for Madai, the son of Japhet, here mentioned by Moses, he is supposed by Mr. Mede to have had his lot in Macedonia: witness, says Mr. Mede, the ancient name of Macedonia, viz. Æmathia. If any man question how Æ came in, I could ask, says he, how Eu came into Euphrates, which the Hebrews and those of Mesopotamia call Perath; or how Æ came in Ægyptus, which the Egyptians themselves, and their neighbours the Arabians, call Cuphti. It may be, adds he, that of the Hebrew נַי, ai, signifying a *region*, the Greeks formed their αἶα, aia, signifying the same; and so Aimadia, or Aimathia, is as much as αἶα Μάδαι, the land of Madai. The Greek αι, ai, is by the Latins turned into æ; and so from the Greek Aimathia these made Æmathia. Mr. Mede observes moreover, that we read of a people in this tract, called Μηδοι, Medi, or, as some will, Μαῖδοι, Mædi. Aristotle, adds Mr. Mede, in his book of Strange Reports speaks of Χώρα Μηδική, the *Medic Region*, in the borders of Pæonia; and hereabouts was the Præfectura Medica we hear of in the Roman stories. Lastly, Isocrates, in one of his Orations, names one Medus for king of these

51.
Æmathi-
ans proba-
bly de-
scended of
Madai, the
son of Ja-
phet.

PART I. quarters, before they came to be a Greek nation. Agreeably hereto Mr. Mede supposes the more usual name of this country, namely, Macedonia, to be originally a compound from Madai and Cetim, whose sons were in time mingled together in these parts.

52.
Colonies of
Madai.

As to the colonies of Madai, Mr. Mede, agreeably to his hypothesis, supposes the Mæsiens in Europe to have been descended from Madai; for, says he, methinks Mæsiens comes near to Methians. Mr. Bochart thinks, that the Samaritans were a colony of the eastern Madai. For he conjectures, that the name of the Samaritans was originally composed of שַׁמְרֵי-מַדַּי, *Sear*, or *Sar-Madai*, which in the oriental languages denotes the *remnant* or *posterity of the Medes*.

53.
Tiras the
father of
the Thra-
cians.

Tiras, or Thiras, the last son of Japhet, is by universal agreement esteemed to be the father of the Thracians, so called from him by a little change of the primitive word, into a word of the Greek sound somewhat like it, according to the usual custom of the Greeks. Hence the latter Greeks looked on the name to be derived originally from the word Τραχῆα, *Trachea*, denoting in their tongue, *rough*, and thought this country to be so named as being a mountainous country. But the name whereby the country of Thrace is called in the oriental writers, plainly shews that the Greek name Thrace was originally derived from Thiras, the founder of the nation. And the same is confirmed by the many footsteps of this same name, that are to be still found in ancient writers. For these tell us, that there was here a river, a bay, and an haven, each called by the name of Athyras; and they mention a city in the peninsula of Thrace, called Tyristasis, and a tract in this country called Thrasus, and a people called Trausi. We learn also from them, that one of the names of Mars, the God of the Thracians, was Θούρας, *Thuras*, which has an apparent affinity to Θείρας, *Thiras*: for so the Seventy Interpreters render the word. Hence old Homer calls Mars by an epithet, Θούρος Ἄρης, *Mars Thurus*. We read also in old authors of Tereus, the son of Mars,

and first king of the Thracians ; and of one Teres, king of the Odrysæ, a people in Thrace ; both which names were likely given to their kings in honour of Tiras, the founder of their nation. Nay, the Odrysæ themselves, a principal people of Thrace, are said to take their name from one Odrysus, a great person among them ; insomuch, that in after-ages he was worshipped by the Thracians as a God. Now this Odrysus is conjectured, not altogether without probability, to be, either Tiras himself, the founder of this nation, or else another so named, perhaps in honour of him. For taking away *o* in the beginning, and the Greek termination *os*, rendered in Latin *us*, there remains *Drys*, or *Trys*, the letters *d* and *t* being frequently changed one into the other by the Greeks, for better sound sake : but *Trys* has got all the radicals, and no other consonants than the radicals of the Hebrew Tiras.

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As for the colonies of Tiras, it is hardly to be doubted but some of them planted themselves in the country over against Thrace, on the north side of the Euxine Sea. For there is a considerable river in those parts, which entirely preserves the memory of the father of the Thracian nation, being called in Greek and Latin writers, Tiras. There was also a city of the same name, standing on this river ; which city is thought to be the same with Bialogrod, as the river is now-a-days called the Niester. The inhabitants of these parts were also formerly known by the names of Tyritæ, or Tyragetæ. Though probably the Tyritæ might denote the true descendants of Tiras settled here ; the Tyragetæ might denote a mixt race, that arose out of the Tyritæ mixing with the Getæ, a bordering people, and who perhaps were descended of the Cetim that settled in Macedonia.

54.

The colonies of Tiras.

There is one thing, which, relating alike both to Madai and Tiras, I have reserved to take notice of in this place ; and it is this. It seems to be the common opinion as to Tiras, not only that he was the father of the Thracians, but also that he first settled himself in the country of Thrace ; and as Mr. Mede seems to agree herein with the

55.

The first plantations both of Madai and Tiras, probably in the Lesser Asia.

PART I. common opinion, so he seems in like manner to look upon Macedonia, or *Æmathia*, to have been the tract wherein Madai first settled. But it seems to me somewhat more probable to suppose, that neither Madai nor Tiras at first crossed the sea between Europe and Asia, but seated themselves as the rest of Japhet's sons did, in some tract of the Lesser Asia. And this I am the more inclined to believe, because even in the Lesser Asia we find some remainders of both their names.

56. For as the learned look upon the names Tereus and Teres, to retain plain marks enough of the name Tiras, as containing all the radicals of Tiras, and differing only as to the vowels; so since the name Tros retains the same marks, why should it not be thought as probable, that the king of this name, from whom the Trojans took their denomination, was either originally Tiras himself, or one of his descendants so named in memory of him; and also that the Trojans in general were the original descendants of Tiras, or such as were descended from him, in the tracts where Tiras at the first planted himself? Add hereto, that it is the common tradition among the Greek writers, that the inhabitants on the east of the Hellespont and Propontis were originally or anciently Thracians, which though understood by the latter Greeks, as if these parts of the Lesser Asia were inhabited by colonies from Thrace in Europe, yet this seems as an opinion arising from their ignorance of the true plantation of the world; and the foundation of this tradition seems to depend really on the European and Asiatic Thracians; being both descended from this same Tiras, who seated himself in these parts of the Lesser Asia; whence his descendants sent afterwards colonies into Thrace in Europe.

57. In like manner, as Mr. Mede, not without probability, conjectures the Mæsi in Europe to have been descended of Madai, by some after-colonies; so there is the same probability, that the Mæsi in the Lesser Asia were the original descendants of Madai, or those that descended from Madai

in the tract wherein he settled upon the first division of the earth. For though these in Asia are frequently styled Mysi, yet it is plain from ancient writers, that the same people both in Asia and Europe are promiscuously called Mysi or Mæsi. CHAP. III.
SECT. II.

From what has been said it may appear not improbable, that Tiras and Madai, the immediate sons of Japhet, as well as Elishah and Dodan, the grandsons of Japhet by Javan, did each of them at the first seat themselves in the Lesser Asia, contrary to what seems to be commonly thought. And that they not only did so, but also seated themselves in those very tracts we have assigned them, may further appear by this consideration; that the said tracts respectively assigned to them in the Lesser Asia do very well agree, that is, do lie exactly opposite to those tracts in Europe, whither their colonies respectively removed in process of time, as they wanted room. For as it is natural to suppose that the colonies of each removed into the parts that lay nearest to them yet unpossessed, that is, directly westward, (for all the other three sides were already possessed,) so our hypothesis does exactly agree to what is thus natural to be supposed. For supposing Tiras to have been at the first seated in the country about Troy, the part of Europe that lay opposite to him was Thrace, parted from him only by the narrow passage of the Hellespont. In like manner, the country in Europe opposite to Mæsia in the Lesser Asia is Æmathia, or Macedonia. So the upper part of Greece, more properly so called, is that tract of Europe which lies opposite to Æolis and Ionia in the Lesser Asia. And lastly, the lower or southern part of Greece is that part of Europe which lies opposite to Doris in the Lesser Asia. 58.
Confirm-
ation of the
foregoing
hypothesis.

And thus I have gone through the original plantations or settlements of the seven nations of the branch of Japhet, and of their respective families mentioned by Moses. And not only so, but I have also taken notice of their respective colonies, as far forth as seems serviceable to the reader. 59.
Conclusion
of Sect. II.

SECT. III.

Of the first Plantations or original Settlements of the Descendants of Shem, or Sem.

1.
The several
nations of
Shem.

I SHALL proceed next to the first plantations of the sons of Shem, and their families; forasmuch as they lie next in a geographical order, bordering on the nation and families of Gomer, to the east and south. Now we find five immediate sons (or sons properly so called) of Shem mentioned by Moses, namely, Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram. Of these, Moses acquaints us with the sons only of Arphaxad and Aram.

2.
The nation
of Aram,
where seated.

I shall begin with the settlement of Aram, as being the first nation of the branch of Shem, adjoining to the nations of the branch of Japhet already spoken of. For the portion that fell to the nation of Aram lay in the countries called by the Greeks Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Syria. It is probable, that Armenia took its present name from Aram. Mesopotamia, as it was so called by the Greeks from its situation between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, so it was called by the Hebrews Aram-Naharaim, i. e. *Aram of or between the two rivers.*

3.
Padan-Aram, what,
and where.

And whereas one part of this country, viz. that lying next to Armenia, was very fruitful, and the other to the south, very barren, and so of the like soil with Arabia Deserta, to which it adjoined, and under which it was by some writers comprehended; hence the upper and northern part of Mesopotamia is that, which in Scripture is distinguished by the peculiar name of Padan-Aram, and in Hosea xii. 13. by the name of Sedan-Aram: both which names are of a like importance, and denote as much as *fruitful or cultivated Aram.*

4.
Aram and
Syria, how
far one answers to the
other.

Though the Hebrew word Aram be frequently rendered Syria, yet it must not be thought that they are words exactly equivalent. The word Syria may indeed be sometimes used in old authors, to denote not only Syria com-





T. Conder del^t & Sculp^t.

monly so called, but also Mesopotamia. And hence it is that Jacob, called in the Hebrew an Aramite, is agreeably enough said in our Version to be a Syrian; namely, either as being descended of Syrians or Mesopotamians, or else as dwelling many years in the country of Syria. For by Syria (Hos. xii. 12.) must be understood Mesopotamia, as is evident from the words immediately following, wherein it is said, that *Israel served for a wife, and for a wife kept sheep*; which was done in Mesopotamia. But then as to the country commonly called Syria, the name of Aram appertained only to part of that, namely, to so much of it as fell to the nation of Aram; that is, the northern and eastern parts thereof. For as to Phœnicia and Palestine, though they are esteemed as parts of Syria, yet did they not belong to Aram, but fell to the lot of Canaan. From the Hebrew name Aram, the old Greeks seem to have denoted the inhabitants of the parts that fell to Aram, by the name *Ἀριμοί*, *Arimi*; which therefore we meet with in old Homer, *Iliad* ii. ver. 783. The name Syri, or Syria, is not to be found in that ancient author, as being probably of a latter date, derived namely from Sor or Tyre, which is likewise never mentioned by Homer, as being likely not then grown famous, if built.

Proceed we now to find out the first settlements of the families of the nation of Aram, which are reckoned four, according to the number of Aram's immediate sons mentioned by Moses, viz. Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash. As for Uz, he is by a great agreement of the ancients said to be the builder of the city Damascus: whence it may be reasonably supposed, that the *land of Uz* mentioned in Scripture did denote the country about Damascus, so as to comprehend a good part of Arabia Deserta, and to extend itself to Arabia Petræa. And in this latitude both what is said in Scripture concerning Job's living in the *land of Uz*, as also of Edom's being in the *land of Uz*, is applicable enough to the country so denominated from Uz, the son of Aram, at the first plantations; and there is no need of making two other distinct lands of Uz, called

CHAP. III.
SECT. III.

5.

The situa-
tion of Uz
son of A-
ram.

PART I. so one from Uz, the son of Nahor, brother of Abraham, the other from Uz, a descendant of Edom. In process of time, the city Damascus became the capital of a kingdom, as we read in Scripture; which kingdom seems to be that which is denoted in the sacred writings by the name of Aram Dammesek, that is, Syria Damascena.

6. The family of Hul, or, as it is written agreeably to the original word, Chul, may with great probability be placed in Armenia, particularly the greater Armenia. For there we find the names of several places, beginning with the radicals of Chul; as Cholua, Choluata, Cholimna, Colsa, Colura, and to mention but one more, Cholobetene: which last seems to have been formed from the oriental Cholbeth, which denotes the same as the *house* or *dwelling* of *Chol*. Now this Cholobetene being the name of a province in Armenia, from this especially we may gather with good probability, that Chul with his family seated himself in these parts.

7. Between Hul to the north, and Uz to the south, their brother Mash seated himself, namely, about the mountain Masius, which is probably enough thought to have taken its name from him. From this mountain issues out a river of Mesopotamia, called by Xenophon, Masca; which is likewise with good probability conjectured to have been so named from this Mash, or, as he is otherwise called in the Scripture, Meshech, the radicals whereof are plainly contained in the name Masca. The inhabitants of the tract adjoining to the mountain Masius, are by Stephanus expressly called Masieni, or Masiani. So that here may be placed very reasonably the first settlement of Mash, or Meshech.

8. But it is not so clear, where the remaining son of Aram, namely Geter, settled himself. Bochartus thinks the river Centrites, which is said by old writers to part the Carduchi from Armenia, might originally be called Getri, from Geter's seating himself in these parts. Others have in Ptolemy observed a city of Albania, which borders on Armenia, to be called formerly Getaræ, and a river of the

same country to be called Getras. And indeed these names carry in them such an affinity to Geter, as to make it probable that this might be the first settlement of Geter.

CHAP. III.
SECT. III.

Pass we on now to the nation of Asshur, which lay on eastward to the nation of Aram, and which is by universal consent esteemed to fix itself in the country, called Asshur in the eastern tongues, in the western Assyria, from the founder of this nation. But by Assyria is here to be understood the country, properly and originally so called, that is, the country lying east of the Tigris, and wherein stood the city of Nineveh; and which afterwards was peculiarly distinguished by the name of Adiabene. Which word the Greeks, after their wonted manner, deriving from words of their own language, thought this country was so called as being, *Ἀδιάβατος*, *unpassable*, namely, by reason of the many and large rivers running therein. But Ammianus Marcellinus acquainting us, that there are in these parts two rivers, one named by the Easterns Diavas, the other Adiavas; it is likely that this tract took the name of Adiabene from one or both of the said rivers. Bochart observes, that Deva or Dava in the Chaldee tongue signifies a *wolf*, and Adiava may be derived from another oriental word denoting *swift*. Whence he supposes these two may be the rivers, called by the Greeks *Λύκος*, *lycus*, *wolf*, and *Γόγγυς*, *gorgus*, *swift*, or *Κάπρος*, *aper*, *boar*, a fierce animal.

9.
Of the nation of Asshur, son of Shem.

It is also observable, that Assyria was, by a little and usual change of *s* into *t*, formerly called also Attyria; which is therefore erroneously taken by some to be a distinct country from Adiabene, or Assyria properly and primarily so named. And in like manner that most ancient king of the Assyrians, which is said to have been the son of Zames, and to have succeeded Ninus, and to have waged war frequently with Caucasus, the son of Japhet, and to have been worshipped by the Assyrians as their Mars, or God of war, and to have been called Bel, or Baal; this King, I say, is styled, in Suidas and some others, Thuras,

10.
Belus of the Syrians, who.

PART I. corruptly for Atthuras; that is, Asshur, for Asshur in the Chaldee tongue is Atthur, or Atthura. This person is said to be the son of Zames, as being the son or descendant of Shem, and to have succeeded Ninus, i. e. Nimrod, and to have overcome Caucasus, i. e. Gog or Magog, the son of Japhet; as Bochartus probably enough conjectures. And hence it follows, as the same learned person observes, that if any regard is to be had to the writers who mention this story, then the Belus or Bel of the Assyrians was not Nimrod, but Asshur. And indeed it is not likely, that the Assyrians should have such a reverence for an invader of their nation as Nimrod was; but rather should pay such a religious respect to the founder of their own nation, or to some considerable person descended from him.

11. **The nation of Elam, where seated.** That Elam seated himself in the southern tract beyond the Tigris or Euphrates is beyond dispute, not only from the authority of Scripture, wherein the inhabitants of the said tract are plainly and frequently denoted by the name of Elam; but also from Heathen writers, wherein we read of a country here called Elymais, and a city of the same name. It is not to be omitted that the name Elam, as many other names of places, is taken sometimes in a stricter sense, wherein it is distinguished from Susiana and the adjoining provinces; sometimes in a larger sense, so as to include Susiana and other adjacent provinces. Hence Pliny and Ptolemy mention the Elymæi as a people inhabiting on the Persian Gulf; and hence Daniel the Prophet speaks of Shushan, the chief city of Susiana, as lying in the province of Elam, Dan. viii. 2.

12. **Arphaxad, son of Shem, where seated.** To the lot of Arphaxad is assigned by learned men the more southern part of Mesopotamia, (where the plain or vale of Shinar lay on the river Tigris,) together with the country of Eden, and the tract on the east side of the same river, called Arrapachitis, a name plainly derived from Arpachshad, which is the name of Arphaxad in the Hebrew text. That the vale of Shinar, with the country of Eden, was part of the first plantation of Arphaxad, is supposed on these probabilities: 1. That after the Flood

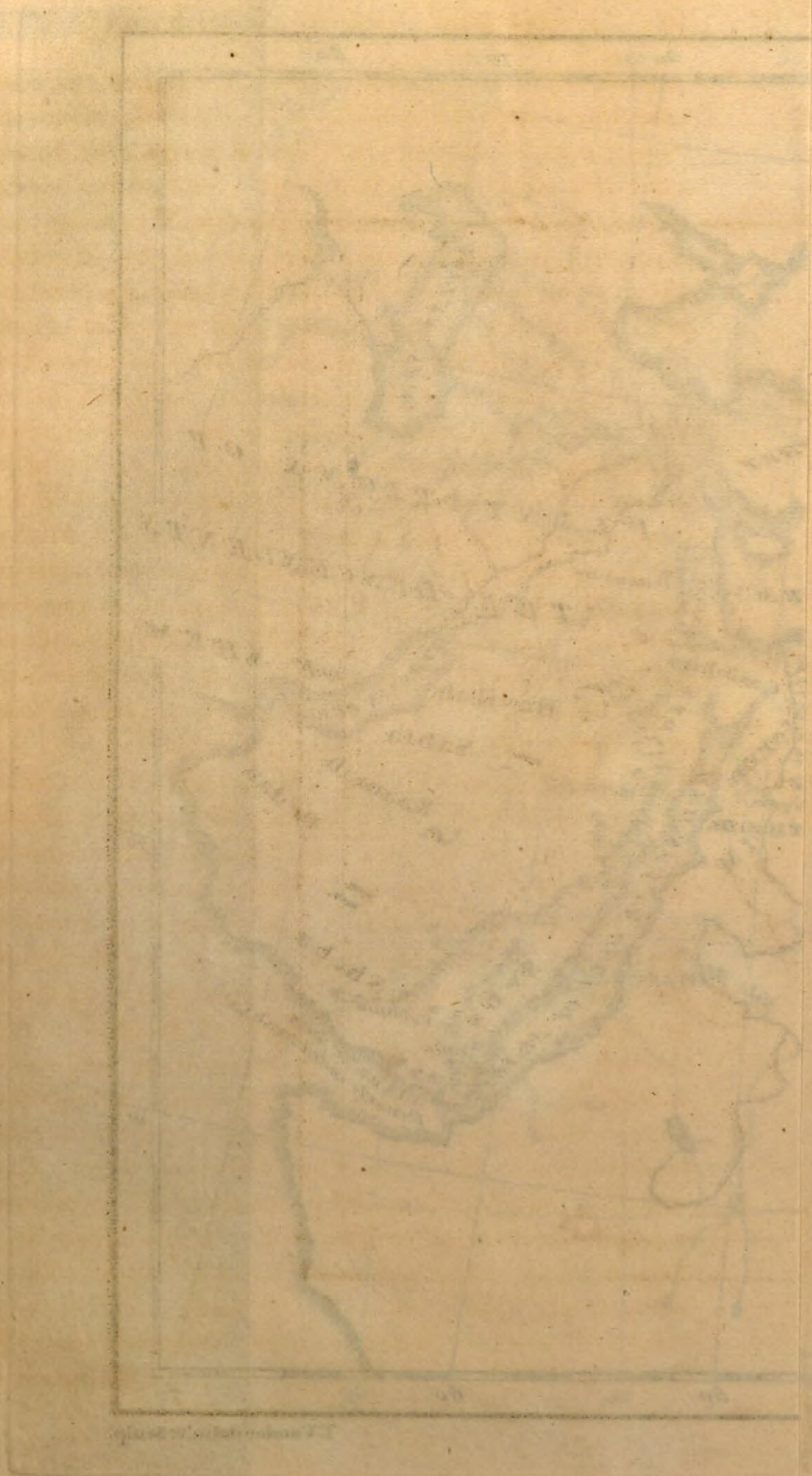
Noah returned and settled himself again in these parts, as well knowing the goodness of the soil and pleasantness of the country : which is confirmed by a town here named Zama, from Zam or Shem. 2. That, upon the dispersion of mankind and confusion of tongues, as the primitive or Hebrew tongue was preserved in the family of Arphaxad, so agreeably hereunto this family still continued in the same parts where they then were, together with their grandsires, Noah and Shem. 3. This opinion may be confirmed from Gen. x. 30. *And their dwelling was from Mesha, as you go unto Sephar, a mount of the East.* For the Mesha here mentioned is probably esteemed to be the same mountain as is before mentioned under the name of Mash or Masius, in the western parts of Mesopotamia. So that if the forecited text is to be understood of the descendants of Arphaxad, as is thought by several learned men, and also by the historian Josephus, it will import thus much, that the southern part of Mesopotamia lying on the east of the Mount Mesha, or Masius, was first inhabited by the descendants of Arphaxad ; (and accordingly we here find Phalga, a town probably named from Peleg, or Phaleg, settling there ;) and so on eastward, as far as to Sephar, a mount in the East. Now this Mount Sephar is probably thought to be the mountain adjoining to Siphare, a city in Aria, and which lies directly east from Mesha. And though this be a long tract of ground, yet it will be but proportional to the numerous descendants of Arphaxad, especially by Joktan ; of which more by and by. 4. It is the tradition of the ancients, Eustathius Antiochenus and Eusebius, that Sela the son of Arphaxad seated himself in Susiana : and agreeably hereto we read in old writers of a town called Sela. But now Susiana, as has been observed Chap. I. did contain part of the country of Eden which adjoined to, or in probability was a part of, the vale of Shinar largely taken ; of which more in the following Chapter. 5. It is further confirmed, that Arphaxad seated himself in the vale of Shinar ; because we find that Terah and Abraham his son, descendants of

PART I. Arphaxad, came out of those parts, Gen. xi. 31. *And*

Terah took Abraham his son—and went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan.

Now it is confessed, I think, by all, that Chaldea comprehended at least a great part of the vale of Shinar; and it is certain it comprehended as much of the country of Eden as lay west of the common channel of the Euphrates and Tigris. And on this passage of Scripture seems to be grounded what Josephus saith of the Chaldeans being called Arphaxadeans, from Arphaxad: whereby he does not mean that the name Chaldeans was derived from the name Arphaxad, as some erroneously understand him; but that those who were *now*, i. e. in his days called Chaldeans, were originally called Arphaxadeans. I think all these considerations put together will make it highly probable, if not more, that the first settlement of the nation of Arphaxad was in the parts we assigned them, particularly in the vale of Shinar, as including under it the country of Eden; and not only in the province Arrapachitis, as some seem to imagine.

13. Of the sons of Joktan. Having thus seen the first settlement of the descendants of Arphaxad, let us turn our eyes a little upon their after-colonies, particularly those that sprang from Joktan; of whom Moses reckons up no fewer than thirteen sons. And as Moses assigns their habitation to have been from Mesha to Mount Sephar; so in this tract learned men have observed the names of several places, which, by their likeness to the names of Joktan's sons, seem to tell their respective situations. These countries being remote, and therefore not so well known, or of so near a concern, at least, to the English reader, I shall pass by the rest, and take particular notice but of the country of Ophir, as being mentioned in holy Scripture, and I think the only one therein mentioned among them that were formerly possessed by, or denominated from, the sons of Joktan. And this Chapter being already run out to a great length, I shall say no more of Ophir here, than that it is generally agreed to lie in the East-Indies. There are indeed countries mentioned





in Scripture under the names of Sheba and Havilah; but these were probably so denominated, not from the two sons of Joktan that were of the same names, but from others; particularly from two sons of Cush, one of the sons of Ham; to whose descendants (there being nothing certain concerning Lud, the remaining son of Sem, but that he did not seat himself in the country of Lesser Asia, called Lydia) I now hasten.

CHAP. III.
SECT. III.

SECT. IV.

Of the first Plantations of the Descendants of Ham.

HAM, as has been observed, was the youngest of the three sons of Noah; and consequently his offspring made the youngest branch of Noah's posterity; which may primarily be distinguished into four nations, according to the number of the immediate sons of Ham named by Moses, viz. Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan. As to the name of Ham himself, we find Egypt twice or thrice denoted by the name of the land of Ham in the book of Psalms; whence it seems probable that Ham went thither himself, and there settled with his son Mizraim.

1.
Land of
Ham,
which.

And it is scarce to be doubted, but the person denoted by the Greeks under the name of Jupiter Ammon (in honour of whom there was a temple erected in the parts of Libya adjoining to Egypt, much celebrated for its oracles) was no other than Ham. For the derivation of the name Ammon from *Ἄμμος*, *Ammus*, signifying in Greek sand, is to be ascribed only to the ignorance of the latter Greeks as to the true and primitive original of it; whereupon, according to their usual custom in other like instances, they deduced it from a word of their own, denoting the sandiness of the country thereabout. To proceed now to the sons of Ham.

2.
Ham, pro-
bably de-
noted by
Jupiter
Ammon.

It is well known that the nation of Canaan settled itself in the country so often mentioned in Scripture under

3.
Of the na-
tion of Ca-
naan.

PART 1. the name of the land of Canaan; which God in process of time gave to the seed of Abraham, the Israelites. A more particular knowledge both of this nation in general, and also of the respective situation of its several families, will conduce much to the better understanding of great part of the sacred History; and therefore I shall make this the subject of a whole distinct Chapter, when I shall come to speak of Abraham's going to sojourn in the land of Canaan,

4. The nation of Cush is likewise frequently mentioned in Scripture; from which it is clear, that its first settlement was in the country adjoining to his brother Canaan on the south, that is, in Arabia. It is true indeed, that the word Cush, when put in Scripture for a country or people, is rendered Ethiopia, or Ethiopians; but then this can be truly understood only of the Asiatic Ethiopia, or Arabia, not of the African, and especially as to the first settlement of Cush.

5. That by Cush is denoted in Scripture Arabia, is evident from these places. In Numb. xii. 1. we read that Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses, because of the Cushite woman whom he had married. But it is certain from Exod. ii. 15—21. that Moses's wife was a Midianitish woman; and it is confessed, that Midian, or Madian, was a city and country in Arabia, on the shore of the Red Sea. So that from hence it appears, that Moses's wife was an Arabian, and consequently that the Hebrew word Cushite is not rightly rendered Ethiopian; unless it be understood of Ethiopia in Asia or Arabia, not of Ethiopia in Afric. Pertinent hereunto is Habbak. iii. 7. *I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction: the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble.* Where Cushan and Midian are used as equivalent terms, or else as a general and particular, Midian being in strictness only one part of the country of Cush. Further, that by Cush in Scripture is not understood Ethiopia in Afric, may be inferred from these passages: in Ezek. xxix. 10. God by his Prophet speaks thus: *I will make the land of Egypt desolate, from the tower of*

Syene even unto the border of Cush. It is manifest, that here, by the tower of Syene and the border of Cush, are denoted the two extremities of Egypt. Now all, that have any knowledge of old geography, know that Syene was the boundary of Egypt southwards towards Ethiopia in Afric. Therefore Cush, as being the opposite boundary of Egypt, cannot possibly be the African Ethiopia, or Ethiopia commonly so called; but thereby may be well understood Arabia, as bounding that part of Egypt which is most remote from Ethiopia, that is, its north part. Again, we read 2 Kings xix. 9. that whilst Sennacherib King of Assyria was besieging Libnah in the tribe of Judah, Tirhakah King of Cush was marching with an army against him. In like manner we read, 2 Chron. xiv. 9. that Zerah the Cushite came with a great army against Asa King of Judah. Now this cannot be tolerably understood in either place of the King of Ethiopia commonly so called, as lying at too great a distance from Judea, and having the country of Egypt to pass through, before he could bring his army into Judea. But it may be well understood of the King of Arabia, as being the neighbouring country. What has been offered does, I think, sufficiently evince that the nation of Cush did first settle in Arabia; and the word is generally to be so understood in Scripture.

- It is very probable, that in process of time some of the Cushites might pass over the Red Sea into the adjoining parts of Afric, and so plant colonies in Ethiopia commonly so called; and in this sense Cush may be said to be the father of these Ethiopians. But whether the word Cush is ever taken in this acceptation by the sacred writers, is not certain: those places of Scripture which are by some expounded of this Ethiopia (viz. Isai. xviii. 1. Zeph. iii. 10. and 2 Chron. xii. 3.) are by other learned men expounded of Arabia.

I proceed now to the descendants of Cush mentioned by Moses, which are these, Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtecha: to which Moses subjoins

CHAP. III.
SECT IV.

6.

In what sense Cush may be said to be the father of the Ethiopians in Afric.

7.

The descendants of Cush mentioned by Moses.

PART I. two sons of Raamah, Sheba and Dedan: and then adds, lastly, that *Cush begat Nimrod, who began to be a mighty one upon the earth, &c.* Gen. x. 7, 8, &c. Now we shall find all these, but the last, seated in Arabia, which may serve as a further confirmation that Cush settled himself in the same country, and that by the name Cush is principally denoted Arabia.

8. **Situation of Seba.** As for Seba, the first son of Cush mentioned by Moses, he probably seated himself in the south-west part of Arabia, where we find a city called Sabe.

9. **Situation of Sheba.** On the south-east side we find another city called Sabana; where we may therefore place Sheba, the grandson of Cush by Raamah. And the reason why we choose this to be the situation, rather than the other side of the country, is because that it is on the eastern side of Arabia that we find his father and brother situated; and it is likely he seated himself in their neighbourhood. On this account we find him always mentioned with his father or brother: as Ezek. xxvii. 22. *The merchants of Sheba and Raamah were thy merchants:* and xxxviii. 13. *Sheba, and Dedan, and the merchants of Tarshish, &c.*

10. **These two peoples confounded by Greeks and Latins, and both denoted by Sabæans.** Now these two names, Sheba and Seba, being so much alike, the two different families denoted by them were quickly confounded by the Greeks, and called promiscuously Sabæans. Hence Pliny says, that the Sabæan nations inhabited these parts, spreading themselves to both seas, i. e. from the Red Sea, or Gulf of Arabia, to the Gulf of Persia. But the sacred writers exactly distinguish them: thus the royal Prophet speaks distinctly of each, Psalm lxxii. 10. *The kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts.*

11. **Situation of Raamah.** On the same side of Arabia with Sheba were seated, as has before been intimated, both his father Raamah, and his brother Dedan. For as to the former, we find on this shore of the Persian Gulf a city called Rhegma by Ptolemy; which it is not to be doubted but was so called from this reason: for the Hebrew name, which in our English translation is rendered Raamah, is in other transla-

tions, particularly the Septuagint, rendered (agreeably enough to the radicals) *Ῥέγμα, Rhegma*. CHAP. III.
SECT. IV.

Not far from Rhegma mentioned by Ptolemy, we find on the same coast, eastward, another city called Dedan, now-a-days Daden; from which the neighbouring country also takes its name, as Mr. Bochart has observed from Barboza, an Italian writer, in his description of the kingdom of Ormuz. So that we need not doubt, but that here was the settlement of Dedan, the son of Raamah, or Rhegma, and brother of Sheba. 12.
Situation of
Dedan.

On the same shore of the Persian Gulf, but higher northward, we find in Ptolemy the situation of a city called *Σαφθα, Saphtha*; which has so great a likeness to Sabta, that it may be with good probability conjectured, that in this district the son of Cush of this name seated himself. 13.
Situation of
Sabhah.

Higher still to the north was seated (as we have shewn Chap. I.) Havilah, or Chavilah, along the river Pison, or the western channel of the two, into which the common channel of the Tigris and Euphrates again is divided, before the waters thereof empty themselves into the Persian Gulf. This we have above confirmed from the people here mentioned by old writers, viz. the Chaulotæi, or Chablasii, or Chaulasii; all which are manifestly derived from Chavilah: and it is likely that these inhabited a considerable tract from east to west. 14.
Situation of
Havilah.

There remains now only Sabteca of Cush's sons; who, we need not doubt, placed himself among the rest of his brethren; especially since there is room enough left for him in the northern parts of Arabia. His descendants might be from him regularly enough styled at first by the Greeks Sabtaceni; which name might be afterwards softened into Saraceni; by which name it is well known that the people of this tract were formerly denominated. And this is the more probable, because Stephanus mentions a country in those parts called Saruca. Mr. Bochart will have the Saracens to be so called from *סַרַק, Sarak*, which in the Arabic tongue signifies *to steal, or rob*; and 15.
Situation of
Sabteca.

PART I. that this name was given these people, as being addicted to robbery. And perhaps this might be the reason of changing the original name Sabtaceni into the nickname Saraceni. The reason why no mention is made in the Scripture of the Sabtaceni, may be this; that these parts of Arabia lying next to the Holy Land, are by the sacred writers denoted by the name of Cush, the father of Sabteca, and who, it is likely, settled himself in these parts with his son Sabteca. As for Nimrod, the remaining son of Cush, we shall speak of him and his dominions in a distinct Chapter.

16.
Situation of
Mizraim.

We proceed then now to Mizraim, who by Moses is named second among the sons of Ham. And where he at first settled himself we need not doubt; since the Hebrew text generally denotes Egypt by the name of the land of Mizraim, or simply Mizraim. As to the critical remarks of the learned concerning the *dual* termination of this name, I have spoken above; and there shewn that it is more probably to be esteemed a *singular*. I proceed therefore to the descendants of Mizraim; and the names, whereby these are denoted by Moses, I have shewn to be *plurals*. As for the land of Mizraim, or Egypt, I shall speak of it hereafter in a distinct Chapter.

17.
The several
descendants of
Mizraim.

The descendants of Mizraim are thus enumerated by Moses; *Mizraim begat Ludim, and Ananim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim, (out of whom came Philistim,) and Caphtorim*, Gen. x. 13, 14. I shall take them in the order they are mentioned by Moses, as being pretty agreeable to their situation.

18.
The Ludim,
the Ethiopians in
Afric.

To begin then with Ludim, whereby are denoted the Ethiopians in Afric, and who alone are commonly so called both in ancient and modern writers. That these Ethiopians are denoted in Scripture by the name of Ludim, and their country Ethiopia by the name of Lud, the learned Bochart has proved at large, by no fewer than ten distinct arguments. I shall mention only those, which he draws from the sacred Scripture; as from Isa. lxvi. 19. and Jer. xlv. 9. where Lud or Ludim are said to be very

skilful in drawing the bow: which agrees punctually with the character given to the Ethiopians by many ancient writers. Again, in the forecited place of Isaiah, we find Phul and Lud joined together; whence it may be probably inferred they denoted people or countries adjoining one to the other. But now Phul may very well be thought to be the city and country of Philæ, situate not far from Syene on the borders of Ethiopia. Once more, in the place of Jeremiah aforecited, and in Ezek. xxx. 5. we find Lud or Ludim joined with Cush and Phut: where, as by Cush are meant the Arabians, and by Phut the inhabitants of the parts of Afric beyond Cyrenaica, as shall be shewn by and by; so by Lud are reasonably to be supposed the Ethiopians lying as it were between the two former. It is certain, that by Lud cannot be understood Lydia in the Lesser Asia, (as it is rendered in our English Version,) this being too far off from Cush and Phut, to be joined together in one action.

CHAP. III.
SECT. IV.

The next descendants of Mizraim mentioned by Moses are the Anamim; whereby Bochart thinks the inhabitants of the country about Jupiter Ammon's temple might be denoted: to confirm which opinion, he observes that Herodotus expressly asserts the Ammonians to be the descendants partly of the Egyptians, and partly of the Ethiopians. And this by the way tends to confirm also the foregoing hypothesis, that the Ludim are the Ethiopians; they being named just before the Anamim by Moses. From these Anamim or Ammonii, the same learned person thinks the Nazamones took likewise their rise and name; as also the Amantes, and Garamantes, and Hammanientes, mentioned by old writers in the adjacent parts.

19.

Anamim,
where seated.

The Lehabim come next, both in the text and in situation. For it is very probable that Lehabim and Lubim are one and the same word, a little changed in time, and that from hence was derived originally the name of Libya; which, though at length extended to the whole Libyan or African continent, yet at first belonged only to the coun-

20.

The Lehabim, or Lubim, seated in Libya, properly so called.

PART I. try Cyrenaica. Now this country lying next over-against Greece, hence the name of Lehab or Lub, originally belonging to this tract only, was moulded into Libya, and given by the Greeks to the whole continent over-against them on the other side of the Mediterranean Sea: just as the name of Africa, properly pertaining only to that part of this continent which lies over-against Italy, was therefore by the Latins extended to all the continent: or, to come to our own times, much after the same manner as we extend the name of Holland to all the Dutch provinces, and the name of Flanders to all the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands; whereas they properly denote only the two particular provinces in the Spanish and Dutch Netherlands, that lie next over-against our island of Great Britain.

21. Situation of the Naphtuhim. The Naphtuhim are probably enough placed by Mr. Bochart in the country adjoining to Cyrenaica, or Libya properly so called, towards Egypt, namely, in Marmarica. For here we find in Ptolemy some remainder of the name, in a place called *Aptuchi fanum*. And in the Heathen fables Aptuchus, or Aphtuchus, or Autuchus, is said to be the son of Cyrene, from whom the city and country of Cyrene took its name. The ground of which fable might be this, that Naphtuch, the father of Naphtuchim, called by the Greeks Aphtuchius, was the brother of Lehab, the father of Lehabim, who first peopled Cyrenaica.

22. Situation of the Pathrusim. The Pathrusim, or descendants of Pathros, are mentioned next by Moses; whereby are to be understood the inhabitants of the Upper Egypt or Thebais, where Ptolemy places Pathyris, an inland town not far from Thebes. And agreeably hereto the Septuagint translation renders the Hebrew Pathros by the Greek Pathyris. The other or lower part of Egypt, as it is frequently denoted by Greek and Latin writers under the name of Egypt simply; so it is sometimes distinctly noted in Scripture by the name Mizraim. But more of this when we come to treat particularly of Egypt.

Go we on then to the two remaining families of Miz-

raim, namely Casluhim and Caphtorim. And for the former, they are not improbably thought to have first settled in the country on the other side of Egypt, called Casiotis; where also is a mount called Casius; both which retain somewhat of the name Casluhim. And this situation of them is confirmed by what Moses adds concerning them, namely, that from them sprang the Philistines; who in process of time made themselves masters of the adjoining tract of the land of Canaan, as we read in Scripture, and shall take further notice of where we treat distinctly of the land of Canaan.

CHAP. III.
SECT. IV.

23.

The Casluhim, where seated.

That the Caphtorim were situated near to the Casluhim, is inferred not only from Moses putting them next one to another in the forecited place of Gen. x. but also from this, that the Philistines, who are in Gen. x. 14. said to be descended of the Casluhim, are elsewhere denoted by the name of Caphtorim, as Deut. ii. 23. Jer. xlvii. 4. and Amos ix. 7. Which perhaps cannot be better accounted for, than by supposing the Casluhim and Caphtorim to be neighbours, and so in time to have been mutually intermixed, as to be looked upon as one and the same people.

24.

The Caphtorim, where seated.

Now the name of Caphtor seems to be preserved in an old city of Egypt, called Coptus; from which as the name of Cophtes is still given to the Christians of Egypt, (whence the translation of the Bible used by them is called also the Coptic translation,) so it is not unlikely that the common name of Egypt was derived from it; it being called Ægyptus for Ægophtus, as if one would say in Greek Αἴα Κόπτου, *the land of Coptus*. And it is a good remark of the learned Mede, that the Greek Αἴα, *Aia*, or *Æa*, is likely derived from the Hebrew אֵי *Ai* or *Ei*: to which may be very pertinently subjoined this remark; that in the forecited Jer. xlvii. 4. what we render the *country of Caphtor*, is in the Hebrew text termed אֵי כַפְתּוֹר *Ai Captor*; which are the very two words, from which we suppose the Greeks to have moulded the name Αἴγυπτος, *Ægyptus*. And this is taken notice of by our Translators, who in the margin of our Bible observe, that the Hebrew

25.

Egypt, whence so named.

PART I. word translated the *country* in the text, denotes also *an isle*.

And it is further observable, that this name is very properly given to the city Coptus, forasmuch as it stood in a small island. So that, upon the whole, we need not doubt thereabout to fix the first settlement of the Caphtorim.

26. Of the four original nations descended from Ham, there remains now only that of Phut to be spoken of. And the first settlement of this is with good reason supposed to be in the parts of the Libyan or African continent, which join on next to those possessed by the descendants of the Mizraim; that is, in the parts adjoining westward to Cyrenaica, and so to have spread more westward into Mauritania. For in Africa properly so called, below Adrumetum was a city, named Putea, mentioned by Pliny; and in Mauritania there is a river mentioned by Ptolemy, called Phut. St. Jerom is very full to the point, telling us, that there is a river in Mauritania, which was till his own time called Phut, and from which the adjacent country was called Regio Phytensis, *the country of Phut*.

The nation
of Phut,
where
seated.

And thus we have at length shewed the reader the several places where the more immediate descendants of Noah are either certainly known, or else probably thought to have at first seated themselves. I may end this Chapter much after the same manner as Moses does the tenth chapter of Genesis: *These are the plantations of the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and after this manner by these were the nations divided in the earth after the Flood.*



Plate V. To front Page 109. Vol. I.



CHAP. IV.

Of the Land of Shinar, and the City and Tower of Babel.

MOSES having informed us, that the first plantations 1.
 after the Flood were made, not confusedly or by chance, Languages,
 but regularly and orderly, namely, *after their families,* why multi-
after their tongues, &c. he then proceeds to inform us, Babel, why
 (Gen. xi. 1—9.) upon what occasion divine Providence so named.
 multiplied the languages of mankind, whereas afore *the*
whole earth was of one language. And this was, as the
 sacred historian tells us, to make those, that had under-
 taken to build *a city and tower, whose top might reach*
unto heaven, to desist from that enterprise: in order where-
 unto God *confounded their language, that they might not*
understand one another's speech. Hereupon *they left off to*
build the city; and therefore the name of it was called
Babel, (which word in the Hebrew language denotes *con-*
fusion,) *because the Lord did there confound the language of*
all the then inhabitants of the earth. We are then to
 shew, what tract is denoted by the land of Shinar, where-
 in Moses tells us mankind dwelt, when they undertook
 the building of Babel; and in what part of the said tract
 this city and tower was begun.

And as to the land of Shinar, it is not to be doubted, 2.
 but thereby is meant the valley, along which runs the The land of
 river Tigris, and that, probably, till it falls into the sea. Shinar,
 what.
 In the northern part of this valley, that is, in the parts of
 Mesopotamia lying next to the Tigris, we find in old
 writers, both a city called Singara, and also a mountain
 called Singaras; from which it is most highly probable,
 that the adjoining valley took the name of the land of
 Shinar, or, as it may be otherwise spelled agreeably to the
 Hebrew word, Singar. It is plain from Scripture, that
 Babel was the same with the city Babylon; and it is not
 to be doubted, but that Erech was the same with the city

PART I. Aracca, mentioned by Ptolemy and other ancient writers.

Now Moses expressly says, that Babel and Erech lay in the land of Shinar, Gen. x. 10. It may therefore be very probably inferred, that by the land of Shinar was denoted all the valley, along which the river Tigris runs, from the mountains of Armenia northwards, to the Persian Gulf, or at least to the southern division of the common channel of the Tigris and Euphrates. For the city Singara is placed, by the ancients, not far from the mountains of Armenia; and the city Aracca is placed not far from the said division of the common channel of the two rivers aforementioned. Hence it evidently follows, that the country of Eden was a part of the land of Shinar; and as the country of Eden was probably situated on each side the aforementioned common channel; so it is not unlikely, that the valley of Shinar did extend itself all along on both sides the river Tigris: however, it is, I think, certain, that it did so all along the western side of the said river.

3.
The text
Gen. xi. 2.
explained:

The situation and extent of the land of Shinar being, I think, thus truly discovered, hereby great light is given to Gen. xi. 2. and all difficulty about it is taken away. For though the Gordiæan mountains (on which part of the mountains of Ararat it is most probably thought that the Ark rested) lie in a manner north of Babel; yet this does not in the least hinder, but that Moses might truly say of Noah, and the rest, that *as they journeyed from the East they found a plain* (or, as it may, more agreeably to the Hebrew, be rendered, *a valley*) *in the land of Shinar*. For the plain or valley of Shinar, extending itself up quite to the mountains of Ararat or Armenia, which bound the northern part of Mesopotamia, no sooner was Noah and the rest descended from the Gordiæan mountains, into the level country on the south, but they were full east of the upper or northern parts of the land of Shinar; and therefore, as they journeyed from the said foot of the said mountains toward the upper part of the land of Shinar, it may be truly said of them, and that in the most literal

sense, that *as they journeyed from the East, they found a plain in the land of Shinar.* CHAP. IV.

To confirm this opinion, that Noah and his sons, &c. came first, after the Flood, into the northern parts of the land of Shinar, among other arguments that might be alleged, I shall produce but two: one is, that in these parts we find a city mentioned by Ptolemy, under the name of Zama, which bears so great an affinity to Zem or Shem, that it may well be supposed, that hereabouts Noah and his son Shem with the rest at first settled. That the forementioned town Zama took its name from Sem, may be further confirmed from this consideration, that, in the Arabic version, Sem is always called Sam or Zam. The other consideration is this: that it is hardly to be doubted, but that Noah, and his son Shem, and also Japhet, if not Ham, were no ways concerned in the building of the city and tower of Babel, but on the contrary opposed it; and therefore it is reasonably to be conjectured, that the undertakers thereof withdrew themselves from Noah, and the other Patriarchs, and pitched on a place for their intended work at some distance from Noah and the said Patriarchs.

4.
Noah after
the Flood
dwelt in the
northern
part of the
land of Shi-
nar.

Proceed we then to shew, in what part of the land of Shinar, and southward from the settlement of Noah, the city and tower of Babel was begun to be built. And that was in the very place, or else neighbourhood, where the city called Babylon stood, as will appear in the next Chapter; and consequently upon the original and natural stream of the Euphrates, at some distance from its joining with the Tigris, as may be best understood by looking on the map hereunto belonging.

5.
City and
tower of
Babel,
where be-
gun.

It may not be amiss to observe here, about what time, and for what reason, the tower of Babel was undertaken. As to the time, it is easy enough to be inferred from Gen. x. 25. where Moses tells us, that it was *in the days of Peleg*, that *the earth was divided*; which seems most probably to be understood of the time of Peleg's birth, the word Peleg denoting in the Hebrew language, *a division*,

6.
Tower of
Babel,
when un-
dertaken.

PART I. and therefore likely given by Heber to this his son, in reference to the signal occurrence that then happened. Now Peleg was born an hundred years after the Flood, as may be computed from Gen. xi. 10—16.

7. As to the design of this fabric, some have been so absurd as to think, that the undertakers thereof designed to get up to heaven thereby, because Moses used this expression; *Let us build us a city and tower, whose top may reach unto heaven.* Hence arose the fable among the poets of the Giants endeavouring to get up to heaven, by putting one mountain upon another. But it is to be remembered, that it is evident from other places of Scripture, that, by the aforesaid expression, Moses intended no more than to denote a tower of a great height. For thus we read, Deut. i. 28. and ix. 1. of *cities great, and walled or fenced up to heaven.* And the like expression was familiar to the Greeks, whence the words *οὐρανομήκης*, *reaching to or as high as heaven*, and *ἡλίβατος*, *reaching to the sun*, are frequently used by the poets, to denote things of a more than ordinary height. Besides, that such was not the design of this tower, may be reasonably inferred from those words of the text: *Now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do.* Whereby is plainly intimated, that their design was such as they might have completed, had not God thought fit to have interrupted them: but this cannot be understood of a design to build a tower, which should *literally* reach up to heaven. Nor yet do those other opinions seem true; one of which will have this tower designed to preserve them from being destroyed by a *second flood*, the other to preserve them from the *general conflagration*, which they are supposed to have had some notice of. For, to omit other considerations, had they a design to preserve themselves from a second deluge, it is likely, they would not have chosen so low a ground to build their tower on; and on the other hand, had they designed to preserve themselves from fire, it seems more rational for them to have secured themselves under ground.

The design of undertaking the tower of Babel. And first, false opinions rejected.

But to spend no more time in refuting false opinions; CHAP. IV.
 the true design of this tower is plainly enough told us by 8.
 Moses, where he tells us, that they thus encouraged one Secondly,
 another: *Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may* the true
reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be opinion
scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth, Gen. xi. shewn.

4. Now *to make one's self a name*, is a Scripture expression
 for *to make one's self famous*, as 2 Sam. viii. 13. Isa. lxiii.
 12, &c. whence it follows, that the design of these under-
 takers was, by erecting a tower of so great a height, out
 of pomp or show, rather than use, to render themselves
 famous to posterity. By their adding, *lest we be scattered*
abroad on the face of the whole earth, they seem to have
 foreseen, that it would become necessary for them to se-
 parate into distinct parts of the earth, for the better con-
 veniency of subsisting. And it pleased divine Providence to
 take this very occasion so to scatter them, which it did by
 confounding their language, so as that they could not
 understand one another.

And here it is remarkable, that in the very confusion of 9.
 tongues there seems to have been a rule observed, God so A method
 causing them to speak with *diverse tongues*, that their observed in
tongues were ordered *after their families, and after their* the confu-
nations. So that the tongues of the same branch, though sion of lan-
 diverse, yet had a greater affinity among themselves, than guages.
 with the tongues of another branch. Thus, the languages
 of the branch of Shem in the East agree more one with
 another, than with the languages of the branch of Japhet
 in the West.

As to the number of languages then begun to be 10.
 spoken, they could not probably be, as Mr. Mede ob- The num-
 serves, fewer than there were nations, nor more than there ber of pri-
 were families. If there were no more than there were mary lan-
 nations, or heads of nations, then the number is easily guages.
 counted; seven in Japhet, four in Ham, and five in Shem.
 But if there were as many as there were families at the
 confusion, their number cannot be known; because Mo-
 ses, as Mr. Mede observes, does not make an enumeration

PART I. of all the families, or heads of families. However, the common opinion is, that their number was according to the number of families; and this Moses seems to insinuate, because he joins throughout Genes. x. families and tongues together. Hence the number of the original languages is commonly esteemed to be about seventy, according to the number of families mentioned by Moses.

11. I shall only add, that the memory of the confusion of tongues seems to have been a long time preserved among the Heathen, whence the epithet of *Μέροπες*, *Meropes*, is given to mankind by old Homer and other poets, the full import of which word denotes, that whereas mankind was all once of one language, their language was afterward divided into several languages.

12. I shall conclude this Chapter, with the account Dr. Heylin gives us of the tower of Babel, as to its height, &c. It was reared, says he, five thousand one hundred forty-six paces from the ground, having its basis and circumference equal to the height. The passage to go up went winding about the outside, and was of an exceeding great breadth; there being not only room for horses, carts, and the like means of carriage to meet and turn; but lodging for man and beast, and, as Vorstegan reports, grass and corn-fields for their nourishment. The reader is left to give what credit he pleases to this relation.

CHAP. V.

Of the Conquests and Kingdom of Nimrod.

MOSES having named the other sons and grandsons of Cush, he subjoins, Gen. x. 8. *And Cush begat Nimrod.* 1. By this distinct mention of Nimrod, after the rest of his brethren, the sacred historian is supposed to intimate, that Nimrod was indeed the youngest of the sons of Cush, but however the most remarkable of them. And accordingly it immediately follows in the text; *he began to be a mighty one in the earth.* Nimrod, probably the youngest son of Cush.

By what method Nimrod became thus mighty, the sacred historian is thought to denote by the words subjoined; *He was a mighty hunter before the Lord*, i. e. he was in reality very well skilled in hunting, and performing notable exploits therein; insomuch that it became a proverb, or common way of commending a man for his valour and strength, to say, that he was *even as Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord.* 2. The occasion of Nimrod's applying himself to hunting is probably conjectured to be in order to destroy the wild beasts, that began to grow now very numerous, and so to infest very much the parts adjoining to the nation of Cush; the deserts of Arabia being a convenient place for them to harbour in. Hereupon having got together a body of stout young men of his own nation like himself, he began by degrees to be a great master in the art of hunting, and destroying the beasts of prey; by which means he not only very much ingratiated himself with the inhabitants of the adjoining countries, but also inured himself and his companions to undergo fatigue and hardship, and withal to manage dexterously several sorts of offensive weapons.

Being thus occasionally trained up to the art of war, and perceiving at length his skill and strength sufficient to act offensively even against men, he invades first the neigh- 3. He invades the land of Shinar, and why.

PART I. bouring parts of the nation of Shem, which, upon the division of the earth, fell to the lot of the family of Arphaxad; and so makes himself master of the lower part of the land of Shinar. The extraordinary fruitfulness and also pleasantness of this tract, might be the motive that induced Nimrod to invade this part, rather than any other adjoining part of the nation of Shem. As for the land of Canaan and Mizraim, they were possessed by the descendants of Ham, as well as himself; and therefore he might shew them the more respect on that account.

4. Having conquered the southern parts of the land of Shinar, he pitches upon that very place, as is probable, where the city and tower of Babel had been begun, to build the capital city of his kingdom; which therefore was called by the same name Babel, whence by the Greeks and Latins it was called Babylon. It stood, as has been said, on each side the Euphrates, having streets running from north to south parallel with the river, and others crossing these from east to west. The compass of the wall was three hundred sixty-five furlongs, that is, about forty miles: the height of it was fifty cubits, and the breadth so great, that carts or carriages might meet on the top of them, and pass by one another without danger. It is said to have been finished in one year, by the hands of two hundred thousand workmen employed daily in it. Over the Euphrates there was a sumptuous bridge; and at each end of the bridge there was a magnificent palace. It was famous for the *Pensile Garden*, so called by writers, because it seemed at a distance to *hang in the air*, being made not on the ground, but at a considerable height from the ground, borne up with square pillars. In this artificial garden, thus borne up with pillars, there are said to have grown trees, which were no less than eight cubits thick in the body, and fifty feet high. There stood also in this city a beautiful temple, dedicated to Belus or Bel; and in the middle hereof stood a tower, which is supposed by some to have been the very tower, or at least part of that tower, which was begun before the confusion of tongues.

The city, as has been said, is probably supposed to have CHAP. V.
 been first built by Nimrod; it was afterwards beautified 5.
 and enlarged by Semiramis, the wife of Ninus, son, as is By whom
 thought, and successor of Nimrod: it was finally much built, en-
 increased, both in bulk and beauty, by Nebuchadnezzar, larged, and
 who therefore arrogated to himself the whole glory of it, beautified.
 saying in his pride, *Is not this great Babylon that I have*
built? Dan. iv. 30.

As this city was esteemed justly one of the wonders of 6.
 the world for its largeness and buildings; so were the Babylon,
 inhabitants thereof much addicted to and noted for astro- what fa-
 mous for.
 logy, and also for the manufacture of cloth of various
 colours, or embroidered cloth; the invention whereof is
 attributed to them. Hence we find mention made of
 such Babylonish garments, not only in heathen writers,
 but in the sacred story, particularly Josh. vii. 21. where
 Achan makes this confession; *When I saw among the*
spoils a goodly Babylonish garment, &c. The word indeed,
 which we render Babylonish, is in the Hebrew שִׁנְעָר *Sin-*
gar or *Shinar*; so that what we render a *Babylonish gar-*
ment should strictly be rendered a *garment of Shinar*:
 which Shinar was the name of the plain, wherein Babylon
 stood, as has been before observed.

This great and noble city, from the Assyrians, came into 7.
 the hands of the Persians, and from them into the hands How it de-
 of the Macedonians. Here died Alexander the Great; clined.
 after whose death his generals, more regarding their own
 interests than their common duty to their deceased prince,
 let his body lie eight days unburied. Some short time
 after, this great city began to decline, chiefly by the build-
 ing of Seleucia, but three hundred furlongs, or near forty
 miles, above Babylon, by Seleucus Nicanor; who is said
 to have erected this new city, named from him, out of
 spleen to the Babylonians; and to have drawn five hun-
 dred thousand persons from Babylon, for the peopling of
 this new city. Which by degrees robbed Babylon, not
 only of its glory and greatness, but also of its very name;
 being expressly called Babylon in some ancient authors.

PART I. And the want of observing this is that, which has led some into a mistake concerning the situation of old Babylon. As to the several steps, whereby old Babylon declined, Curtius the historian tells us, that it was lessened a fourth part in his time; it was reduced to desolation in the time of Pliny, and in the days of St. Jerom was turned into a park, in which the kings of Persia did use to hunt.

8.
The modern state
of Babylon, viz.
A. D. 1574.

Rauwolf, a German physician, saw, and thus describes the state of this place in A. D. 1574. By a small village on the Euphrates, called Eulego or Felugo, is the seat of the old Babylon, a day and a half's journey from Bagdat. The lands about it are so dry and desolate, that one may justly doubt the fertility of it, and the greatness of this city, if the vast ruins still to be seen did not banish all suspicion. There are still standing some arches of a bridge over the river, which is here half a mile broad, and exceeding deep: these arches are built of bricks, and wonderfully compacted. A quarter of a mile beneath the village, in a plain, are the fallen ruins of a castle, and beyond that the ruins of the tower of Babel, half a German mile in compass, which is now a receptacle of serpents and venomous creatures. A little above the fall of the Tigris into the Euphrates, is a city now called Trax, formerly Apamea. All that travel over these plains will find vast numbers of the ruins of very ancient, great, and lofty buildings, arched towers, and other such like structures of wonderful architecture. There is only one tower, which is called Daniel's, still entire and inhabited, from whence may be seen all the ruins of this once vast city; which sufficiently demonstrate the truth of what ancient writers have said of its greatness, by the vastness of their extent.

9.
A mistake concerning
Babylon's extent amended.

However, whereas Aristotle says, that it ought rather to have been called a country than a city; for that when it was surprised by the Medes and Persians, it was three days before the inhabitants of the farthest parts were aware of it: this is thought to be a great mistake, and that a small alteration in the Greek might possibly occasion it, and might make the *third part of the day* be taken for *three*

days. And thus much for Babel or Babylon, which is CHAP. V. said to be the *beginning of the kingdom of Nimrod*: which expression may denote either, that it was the first city built by him, or the capital city of his kingdom. There is one other way of expounding these words, which I shall take notice of, after that I have spoken of the other cities of Nimrod's kingdom, mentioned with Babel as lying in the land of Shinar; which are these, Erech, Accad, and Calneh.

As to Erech, it is not to be questioned, but that it is 10. the same which occurs in Ptolemy, under the name of Of Erech. Arecca; and which is placed by him at the last, or most southern turning of the common channel of the Tigris and Euphrates. The fields hereof are mentioned by Tibullus, on account of its springs of Naphta, which is a sort of liquid Bitumen. The Archevites mentioned Ezr. iv. 9. are thought to be some, that were removed from Erech to Samaria.

What in the Hebrew is Acchad, is by the Seventy In- 11. terpreters writ Archad, whence some footsteps of this Of Accad. name are probably thought to be preserved in the river Argades, mentioned by Ctesias, as a river near Sittace, lying at some distance from the river Tigris, and giving name formerly to Sittacene, a country lying between Babylon and Susa. And because it was very usual, particularly in these parts, to have rivers take their names from some considerable city they run by; hence it is not improbably conjectured, that the city Sittace was formerly called Argad or Acchad; and took the name of Sittace or Psittace, from the plenty of Psittacias or Pistacias, a sort of nut which grew there. The country Sittacene, although it lay on the east of the Tigris, yet is plainly ascribed to Babylonia, or the land of Shinar, by Strabo; which confirms the opinion, that the land of Shinar lay on both sides the Tigris. To what has been said, may be further added, that the same Strabo mentions a region in these parts, namely, about Arbela, under the name of Artacene, which might be framed from Arcad;

PART I. and so might be the ancient name of the country Sittacene, as Arcad was of the city Sittace. And this is the more probable, inasmuch as Pliny expressly says, that Sittacene was the same as Arbelitis, i. e. the country about Arbela; where Strabo places Artacene, moulded from Arcadene or Ardacene.

12.
Of Calne.

The last of the cities mentioned as belonging to the kingdom of Nimrod, and lying in the land of Shinar, is Calne or Chalne; and which is called, with little variation, Isai. x. 9. Chalnoh, and Ezek. xxvii. 23. Channe. That it was a considerable place even in the days of Amos, appears from the Prophet's comparing it with other places of note; as also from a like comparison made in the fore-cited place of Isaiah. It is said by the Chaldee Interpreters, as also by Eusebius and Jerom, to be the same with Ctesiphon, standing upon the Tigris, about three miles distant from Seleucia above mentioned, and for some time the capital city of the Parthians. That this opinion concerning the situation of Chalneh is true, is mightily confirmed from the country about Ctesiphon being even by the Greeks called Chalonitis, a name plainly made from Chalne or Chalno, or, by a mixture of both, from Chalone, and denoting the country about the said city, as being the principal place of it. And since we are expressly told by Ammianus Marcellinus, that Pacorus, a king of the Parthians, changed its name, imposing on it a Greek name, viz. Ctesiphon; we may reasonably suppose that its old name was Chalne or Chalone, and that from it the adjacent country took the name of Chalonitis; which it retained, even after the city had lost its ancient appellation.

13.
Some thought that the tower of Babel was built near Chalone.

The Greek or Seventy Interpreters seem to have been of opinion, that the tower of Babel was built near this place. For they translate Isa. x. 9. in this sense: *Have not I taken the region above Babylon and Chalane, where the tower was built?* A translation vastly different from ours and others, and from the present reading of the Hebrew text. However, upon the authority of the Sep-

tuagint Version, several of the Greek fathers were ap- CHAP. V.
parently led into the forementioned opinion, that the
tower of Babel stood near Chalane. But though this
opinion be manifestly enough false; yet both from it and
the sacred text itself it is further confirmed, that the land
of Shinar was esteemed by the ancients to lie on the east
as well as west of the Tigris.

I have now shewn the situation of the four cities, Babel, 14.
Erech, Accad, and Calneh, lying in the land of Shinar, The text,
and within the kingdom of Nimrod. The text which Gen. x. 10.
informs us hereof runs thus: *And the beginning of his*
(i. e. Nimrod's) kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad,
and Calneh, &c. Now this expression, *the beginning of*
his kingdom, seems to be generally understood only of
Babel, as if thereby was denoted, either that Babel was
the city, that was *first built* in his kingdom; or that Ba-
bel was the *first* or *capital* city of his kingdom. But I see
no sufficient reason to restrain the forementioned expres-
sion only to Babel, but rather think it is to be understood
of all the other three cities, and does denote thus much,
viz. that Nimrod's kingdom did *at the beginning* contain
only these four principal cities, with their proper regions.
And this exposition is confirmed, by what is immediately
subjoined in the verse following; *out of that land he went*
forth into Asshur, and built Nineveh. For these two verses
being compared together, the design of the sacred his-
torian seems to be plainly this, viz. that *at the beginning*
the kingdom of Nimrod extended no farther than the
land of Shinar; but afterwards he extended it farther, by
making an invasion into Asshur or Assyria.

In the text of our translation, the Hebrew is rendered 15.
thus; *Out of that land went forth Assher, and builded Nine-*
veh, &c. where by Assher, or as it is otherwise writ As- Confirm-
shur, is understood a person, and consequently Asshur, one tion of our
of the sons of Shem, and mentioned ver. 22. of the same exposition.
chapter. But in the margin of our English Bible, the
other translation is taken notice of; *Out of that land he*
went forth into Assyria. Which that it is the truest in-

PART I. terpretation may be shewn by these following considerations. 1. It would be foreign, not to say absurd, to mention in such a manner Asshur, son of Shem, in the genealogy of the sons of Ham. 2. It is altogether incongruous for Moses to have thus mentioned, ver. 11. the *actions* of Asshur, before he had mentioned his *birth*, ver. 22. Further, 3. It was no peculiar, and therefore no remarkable, thing in respect of Asshur, that he should go *out of the land of Shinar* to settle himself, since the far greatest part of mankind did the same. But, 4. and lastly, the words being taken in reference to Nimrod, and rendered according to the marginal translation, there is a clear connection between ver. 10. and 11. *The beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.* But afterwards he extended his kingdom further, and *out of that land* (of Shinar) *went out* (i. e. made an invasion) *into Assyria, and built Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah.*

16.
Of Nine-
veh, and
first as to its
name.

I have spoken already of Assyria, chap. iii. sect. iii. §. 9. I shall therefore proceed here to speak of the cities built by Nimrod, and mentioned ver. 11, 12. I shall take them in the order they are there mentioned, and so begin with Nineveh. As for its name, it is generally thought to be so called from Ninus, son of Nimrod; forasmuch as it is, both by Greek and Latin writers, generally called Ninus: though the name Nineveh was not altogether unknown to these; for it is expressly mentioned by Amm. Marcellinus, and Ptolemy takes notice of both names: *Nivos, Ninus*, which is also *Niveul, Ninevi*; which last is plainly made from the Hebrew *נינוה*, *Nineveh*, a compound, as is probably enough thought, of *נין-נוה*, *Ninnave*, i. e. *the dwelling of Ninus*.

17.
Secondly,
as to its si-
tuation.

As to the situation of this once most potent city, there are great diversities of opinions concerning it. And (as the learned Bochart has well observed) perhaps the truest opinion is, that the place of its situation is not to be discovered; this being the import of those words in the pro-

phesy of Nahum, chap. i. ver. 8. *With an overrunning flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof; i. e.* CHAP. V.
 God will so destroy Nineveh, as that not so much as the place where it once stood shall be known to after-ages. And this exposition seems confirmed by chap. iii. ver. 17. of the same prophecy: *Thy crowned shall be as the locusts, and thy captains as the great grasshoppers, which camp in the hedges in the cold day; but when the sun ariseth, they flee away, and their place is not known where they (are, it is rendered in our Bible; but the verb being not expressed in the Hebrew, it may be, and actually is, rendered in the vulgar Latin version, where they) have been.* Which rendering seems much more apposite and momentous than the other, denoting what is now come to pass; that the very place, where the kings and princes of the Assyrians once lived in such splendour, should in time be not discoverable. And this is particularly taken notice of by Lucian in one of his Dialogues; wherein he says, that *Ninus was so utterly destroyed, that there remained no foot-steps of it, nor could one tell so much as where it once stood.*

However from the observations of learned men, thus much may be reasonably inferred, 1st. That there were two Nineveh's or Ninus's, one on the Euphrates, and the other on the Tigris, which last is that mentioned so often in the Scripture. 2dly. That this Nineveh lay on the east of the river Tigris, and that not far from the river Lycus, which runs into the Tigris. But on which hand of the Lycus, whether on the right or left, is uncertain; forasmuch as some writers place both Ninus and Arbela between the two rivers Lycus and Caprus; others make Lycus separate Arbela from Ninus. 3dly. Hereupon some have supposed, that the Nineveh or Ninus upon the Tigris did in process of time remove from one place to another; that is, that, whereas Nineveh was at first built by Nimrod on the Tigris, above the mouth of the Lycus, this Nineveh being taken and destroyed by the Medes, another city rose up afterwards at no great distance from

18.

Several cities of this name.

PART I. the place of the former, below the mouth of the Lycus, and as it were out of the ruins of the former, and so was called by the same name as the former was. And this conjecture is the more probable, because it is no other than what has happened in relation to other cities or towns.

19.
The greatness of the
Scripture
Nineveh.

As to the greatness of the Nineveh which is denoted in Scripture, it is therein represented to be *exceeding great*; for so the Hebrew expression denotes, Jon. iii. 3. Indeed it was so large, as to exceed even Babylon itself in bigness. The circuit of Babylon is said by Strabo to be three hundred eighty-five furlongs; i. e. somewhat above forty-eight miles; and yet the same author expressly asserts, that Ninus was larger than Babylon. Diodorus gives us the particular dimensions of Ninus thus; it was an hundred and fifty furlongs, i. e. near nineteen miles in length; ninety furlongs, i. e. somewhat above eleven miles in breadth; and four hundred and eighty furlongs, i. e. just threescore miles in compass. Hence whereas it is said, Jon. iii. 3. that *Nineveh was an exceeding great city, of three days' journey*; this is by some understood, not as to its length, but as to its compass; namely, accounting twenty miles for a day's journey, according to the common estimation of those elder times, as also of the Greeks and Romans in the times succeeding. But there seems to lie an objection against this exposition in the following verse; where it is said, that Jonas began to *enter into the city a day's journey*: which seems plainly to intimate, that the measure of *three days' journey*, mentioned in the foregoing verse, is to be understood, not of the compass, but the inside of the city.

20.
Of the
number of
inhabit-
ants.

Hence it may be easily supposed, that there were in Nineveh *more than sixscore thousand persons that could not discern between their right hand and their left hand*, Jon. iv. 11. For supposing this to be understood of infants under two years old, these generally, as Mr. Bochart observes, make at least the fifth part of a city. According to which supposition, all the inhabitants of Nineveh would

not be more than six hundred thousand. And so many CHAP. V.
the inhabitants of Seleucia were esteemed to be in the
days of Pliny, as he tells us. Nay, the inhabitants of
London are esteemed six hundred ninety-five thousand,
seven hundred and eighteen, in the Philosophical Transac-
tions, No. 185.

Nor was this noble city of less strength than greatness; 21.
the walls of it being an hundred feet high, and so broad The strength of
that three carts might go abreast on the top thereof; and Nineveh.
along these walls there were fifteen hundred turrets, each
of them two hundred feet high. So strong, that it was
thought to have been impregnable, and that something
perhaps in respect to an old prediction concerning it;
which signified, that the town should never be taken, till
the river became an enemy to it. A prediction, which in-
duced Sardanapalus to make it the seat of his war against
Belochus and Arbaces, then in arms against him; who
having besieged it three years without success, at last the
river overflowing, carried before it twenty furlongs of the
wall. Which accident so terrified the effeminate king
Sardanapalus, that he burnt himself in the midst of his
treasures, and so left the town to the besiegers. Destruc-
tion being threatened to this city by the preaching of
Jonas, it escaped then upon repentance. But the people
going on in their wicked courses, it was destroyed by
Astyages king of the Medes, that it might no longer be
an encouragement to the Assyrians to rebel against him,
as formerly against some of his predecessors. Upon and
as it were out of the ruins hereof is supposed another city
to have arisen, at no great distance from the situation of
the former, and called by the same name, as has been be-
fore observed, and which was the Nineveh that was stand-
ing in the time of Amm. Marcellinus and Paulus Dia-
conus, and that on the east of the river Lycus, whereas old
Nineveh was on the west. And thus much for Nineveh.

Proceed we now to the other cities, which Nimrod built 22.
in these parts, as well as Nineveh; and these having suf- Of the city
fered much the same fate with Nineveh, nothing can be Rehoboth.

PART I. produced concerning them, that will amount to more than conjecture. The city mentioned by Moses next to Nineveh is Rehoboth, which word, because in the Hebrew tongue it denotes also streets, hence the sacred historian seems to have added the word *city*; to shew, that it was here to be taken as a proper name. Now there being no footsteps of the name itself in these parts, but there being here a city or town called BIRTHA by Ptolemy, and the said name denoting in the Chaldee tongue the same as Rehoboth does in the Hebrew, in an appellative or common acceptation; hence it is probably conjectured, that Rehoboth and BIRTHA are only two different names of one and the same city. And it is not to be doubted, but the BIRTHA mentioned by Ptolemy is the same which Ammianus Marcellinus calls VIRTÀ. It was seated on the Tigris, about the mouth of the river Lycus.

23. Another Rehoboth mentioned, Gen. xxxvi. 37. There is mention made, Gen. xxxvi. 37. of a city Rehoboth, where Saul a king of Edom was born. But this is thought to be the Rehoboth that lay on the Euphrates; whence Bochart tells us, that it is to this day distinguished among the Arabs by the name of Rahabath-melic, i. e. Rehoboth-regis; as in Norfolk there is a town called for distinction sake Lynn-regis. But whether this Rehoboth on the Euphrates was the birthplace of Saul the Idumean king, or no; it is in a manner certain, that it was at too great a distance from Assyria, properly so called, to be built by Nimrod, together with Nineveh, and the other two that follow, viz. Calah, and Resen.

24. Of the city Calah. As for Calah and Calach, since we find in Strabo a country about the head of the river Lycus, called Calachene, it is very probable, that the said country took this name from Calach, which was once the capital city of it. Ptolemy also mentions a country, called Calacine, in these parts. And whereas Pliny mentions a people called Classitæ, through whose country the Lycus runs, it is likely that Classitæ is a corruption for Calachitæ. To this city and country it was, in all probability, that Salmanassar transplanted some of the ten tribes of Israel, as we read

2 Kings xvii. 6. For though the word be there somewhat CHAP. V.
differently spelt, yet the said two letters, wherein the difference lies, are frequently used one for the other; and what is in this last place written in our Bible Halah, may be written agreeably to the Hebrew Chalah or Chalach, and so little differing from Calah or Calach.

We are come now to the last city mentioned by Moses, 25.
as built by Nimrod; the name whereof was Resen. There Of the city
Resen.
were two cities in Mesopotamia of somewhat like names, one being called Rhisina, between Edessa and mount Masius; the other, Rhesena, between the rivers Chaboras and Saocoras. But the situation of neither of these agreeing to the description of Resen given by Moses, therefore learned persons have been induced to look on a city mentioned by Xenophon under the name of Larissa, to be the same with Resen built by Nimrod, and that for these three considerations. 1st. That the situation of this Larissa lying on the Tigris well enough agrees with the situation of Resen, as described by Moses, who tells us, that it was built between Nineveh and Calah, Gen. x. 12. Moreover, 2dly, Moses observes in the same text, that *Resen was a great city*. And so Xenophon tells us, that Larissa was a strong and great, but then ruined city, being two parasangs, i. e. eight miles in compass; and its walls an hundred feet high, and twenty-five feet broad. 3dly, and lastly, Larissa was a Greek name; whence we find a city so called in Thessaly, and said to be the birthplace of Achilles. There was also another city of the same name in Syria, which the Syrians themselves called Sizara, as Stephanus observes. But now there were no Greek cities in Assyria in the days of Xenophon, i. e. before Alexander the Great; and consequently no Larissa: it is likely therefore that the Greeks asking, *what city those were the ruins of*, the Assyrians might answer Laresen, i. e. of Resen; which word Xenophon expressed by Larissa, a somewhat like name of several Greek cities. And thus much for the kingdom of Nimrod.

CHAP. VI.

Of Chaldea, Ur of the Chaldees, and Haran.

1. **T**HE sacred historian having given us an account of the attempt to build the tower of Babel, of the confusion of tongues, and dispersion of mankind ensuing thereupon, and also of the kingdom erected by Nimrod; he then hastens to the history of Abraham, giving us a genealogical account of his descent from Shem, Gen. xi. 10—26. After which he informs us, that Terah, the father of Abraham, taking this his son with him, and Lot his grandson by Haran, and Sarah Abraham's wife, left Ur of the Chaldees, for to go into Canaan; and that being come unto Haran, they dwelt there. We are then to shew the situation of these two places, Ur of the Chaldees and Haran. And in order to discover the situation of the former, it is requisite to premise something of the country of the Chaldees, or Chaldea.

2. It is certain, then, that by the name of Chaldea in after-ages was denoted the country lying between Mesopotamia to the north, Susiana to the east, the Persian Bay to the south, and Arabia Deserta to the west. Its capital city was Babylonia, hence called by Isaiah the prophet, *the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency*. From this its capital city, the whole country of Chaldea came to be denoted by the name of Babylonia; and so these two words to be frequently used promiscuously: though some writers make a distinction between them, but not the same. For some make Chaldea in a restrained sense to be a province of Babylonia; others make Babylonia a province of Chaldea, namely, that part which lay about the city of Babylon. That Babylon was so called by the Greeks, from its Hebrew name Babel, is not to be doubted: and that this city took the name of Babel, from its being built in or near the place

The series
of the sa-
cred history
continued.

The land of
the Chal-
dees or
Chaldea,
whence so
called; and
in what ex-
tent com-
monly tak-
en.



Plate VI. To front Page 129, Vol. I.



where the tower of Babel was begun, is scarcely to be CHAP. VI.
questioned. As for the name of Chaldea, the rise of it is
not so clear; but since the Chaldeans are called in He-
brew Chasdim, hence it is commonly thought, that they
took their name from Chesed, one of the sons of Nahor,
the brother of Abraham, and mentioned Gen. xxii. 22.
For the singular כֶּשֶׁד, *Chesed*, will regularly make the plural
כְּשָׁדִים, which may be read, either *Chesadim* according to
the common grammatical form, or else, with a small va-
riation, *Chasdim*. From this, instead of Χασδαῖοι, *Chasdæi*,
the Greeks formed the softer word Χαλδαῖοι, *Chaldæi*.
Upon the whole, therefore, as to the bare etymology of
the word Chaldees or Chaldeans, it might be very well
deduced from the word Chesed. But how the foremen-
tioned son of Nahor, called by this name, should come to
give his name to the nation of the Chaldeans, or country
of Chaldea, it is not so easy to account for. We do not
find in history that either Chesed, or any of his descend-
ants, the Chasdim, came to be masters of this country,
and so to impose their own name thereon as conquerors.
Some therefore suppose, that Chesed or his descendants
might be the authors of some signal benefit to the inha-
bitants of this country; particularly, that they might first
instruct them in the art of astronomy, for which they are
so famous in ancient history. And hence, because of the
extraordinary esteem the ancients seem to have had for
this science, the people of this country either might out
of vainglory affect themselves to go under this name, or
else might be called thereby by others, out of a distin-
guishing respect for their skill in so celebrated an art. This
opinion seems to be somewhat favoured, in that, when
they are mentioned on account of this art, they are, I
think, usually termed Chaldeans, rather than Babylo-
nians; insomuch that a Chaldean and an astronomer may
seem to have been equivalent terms. It is obvious from
the sacred history, that, whatever was the occasion of the
name of the Chaldeans, if they took it from the aforesaid
Chesed, or any of his descendants, their country must be

PART I. in the forecited texts, Gen. xi. 28, 31. so called by the sacred historian proleptically; that is, by the *land of the Chaldees*, Moses must mean the land, which was (not at the time when Terah and Abraham left Ur, but) afterwards called by that name. In this proleptical sense are the lands of Havilah, and of Cush, and Assyria, so called in the description of the garden of Eden; these names being not given them till after the Flood.

3. Having said thus much concerning the derivation of the word Chaldea, I must add a little more to what has been above said, concerning its extent. The bounds above assigned are such as agree to Chaldea, as it is taken in Greek and Latin writers; but in the sacred writings, it is plain, that it is sometimes taken in a larger sense; namely, so as to include the adjacent parts of Mesopotamia, particularly lying along the Tigris. This is evident from the words of the proto-martyr St. Stephen; *The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran, and said unto him, Get thee out of this country.—Then came he out of the land of the Chaldees, and dwelt in Charran.* Now since St. Stephen here first tells us, that Abraham was in Mesopotamia before he dwelt in Charran, and before God said unto him, *Get thee out of this country*; and then tells us, that Abraham, upon receiving God's command to go out of the country where he then was, came out of the land of the Chaldees, and dwelt in Charran: hence it necessarily follows, that the part of Mesopotamia, where Abraham was before he dwelt in Charran, must be included under the name of Chaldea, or the land of the Chaldees. And this tends further to confirm the opinion, that the name of Chaldea was originally derived from Chesed, the son of Nahor, Abraham's brother. For it is plainly enough intimated in the forecited passage of Gen. xi. that when Terah with his son Abraham, and grandson Lot, the son of Haran deceased, left Ur of the Chaldees; the other son of Terah, namely Nahor, staid behind them in that country, and probably in that very place Ur. For

The land of the Chaldees includes here part of Mesopotamia.

Nahor, as was before observed, was the father of Chesed; CHAP. VI. who being, as is conjectured, skilled in astronomy, might very likely instruct his children in the same; whence the Chasdim, i. e. the descendants of Chesed, might become famous in those parts. And hence Ur, as being the dwelling-place of Chesed and his family, might be called by way of honour, *Ur of the Chaldees*, i. e. *Ur, where the Chasdim live, so famous for astronomy*. And this science being in great vogue, and so much studied by the inhabitants, at least of better fashion, in the adjoining kingdom of Babylonia; hence the name of Chesed or Chasdim, the first tutors in this science, might, together with the science itself, spread over the kingdom of Babylon, or Babylonia.

This opinion, concerning the Chasdim being skilled in astronomy, may be confirmed from the very name of the place where they lived. For Ur in the Hebrew tongue denotes *light*, and so may be taken to denote the *celestial luminaries* or *lights*, i. e. sun, moon, and stars. And hence the place, where the Chasdim lived, might be named *Ur of the Chasdim*, from their studying there the motions of the said lights or luminaries. 4. Ur, why so called.

From what has been said, may easily be inferred, in what part of the land of the Chaldees was situated Ur, 5. Ur, where situated. which Terah and his son Abraham left; namely, that it lay in the eastern part of Mesopotamia, which was sometime, as appears from Acts vii. 2—4. included under the name of Chaldea; nay perhaps which was itself, particularly about Ur, first called the land of the Chaldees, or Chasdim, from Chesed and his sons living there; and from which the name was in process of time extended to Babylonia. And as this situation of Ur agrees to the words of St. Stephen, so likewise does it to the writings of Ammianus Marcellinus, who travelled this country, and who mentions a city of this name lying therein between the Tigris and the city of Nisibis. We do indeed meet with a city in old writers called Urchoa, and situated near or upon the lakes of Babylonia; which therefore

PART I. many will have to be the Ur here mentioned by Moses.

But that the former opinion is the more preferable, besides the argument already drawn from St Stephen's words, will appear for these reasons following. 1. It is said in Josh. xxiv. 2. that *Terah the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor, dwelt on the other side of the flood (or river, viz. Euphrates) in old time*, or, as the Septuagint and Vulgar Latin version render it, *at the first or beginning*. But this cannot be understood of any Ur on or near the lakes of Chaldea, these being on this side the river Euphrates. 2. Abraham's ancestors, from Phaleg downward, were seated in the forementioned parts of Mesopotamia; and therefore it is not likely that Terah should settle so far from the rest of his kindred. 3. From Ur in Mesopotamia near the Tigris, the way to Canaan, whither Terah did intend to go, was directly by Haran; whereas, if he had dwelt by the lakes of Chaldea or Babylonia, his direct way had been through Arabia Deserta; or to avoid that country, as not commodious for traveling, he needed not to have come so high north as Haran, which we are now to speak of.

6. Haran may be otherwise spelt, agreeably to the Hebrew word, Charan; and accordingly we find it, both in the Septuagint, and also in the Acts, rendered in Greek *Χαρράν*, *Charran*; from whence it is not to be doubted, but it came to be called in common writers Charraë. It is probably enough supposed to have been so called by Terah, in memory of his deceased son Haran, the father of Lot. It was situated in the west or north-west part of Mesopotamia, on a river called by the same name in the Greek writers, and running, as is likely, into the river Chaboras, as this does into the river Euphrates. It is taken notice of by Roman writers, on account of a great overthrow there given by the Parthians to the Roman army under the command of Crassus; who was slain in the battle, and was remarkable for his great wealth. For his estate (besides the tenth which he offered to Hercules, and three months corn distributed among the poor)

Haran,
whence so
called, and
where situated.

amounted to seven thousand one hundred talents, which CHAP. VI.
comes in our money, says Dr. Heylin, to one million
three hundred thirty-one thousand two hundred and fifty
pounds. This also was the Crassus, that made up the
triumvirate with Julius Cæsar and Pompey.

PART I.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Land of Canaan, from the first Plantation thereof after the Flood, to Abraham's coming thereto; as also of the Inhabitants of the adjacent Countries, at the time of Abraham's coming into Canaan.

1. The land of Canaan requisite to be here spoken of.

HAVING followed the series of the sacred history, so far as to Abraham's leaving his native place, in order to come into the land of Canaan; before we proceed to speak of Abraham's sojourning therein, it seems very requisite to give an account of the state of the *promised Land*, from the first plantation of it after the Flood by Canaan, and his descendants, till Abraham's coming to sojourn therein.

2. The land of Canaan how situated.

Upon the dispersion of mankind, the country lying on the east and south-east of the Mediterranean sea fell to the share of Canaan, one of the immediate sons of Ham: so that he was seated between the nation of Aram, an immediate son of Shem, to the north and east; and the nation of Cush, an immediate son of Ham, and so his own brother, to the south and south-east; and the nation of the Mizraim, another of his own brothers, to the south-west: his western boundary was the Mediterranean sea.

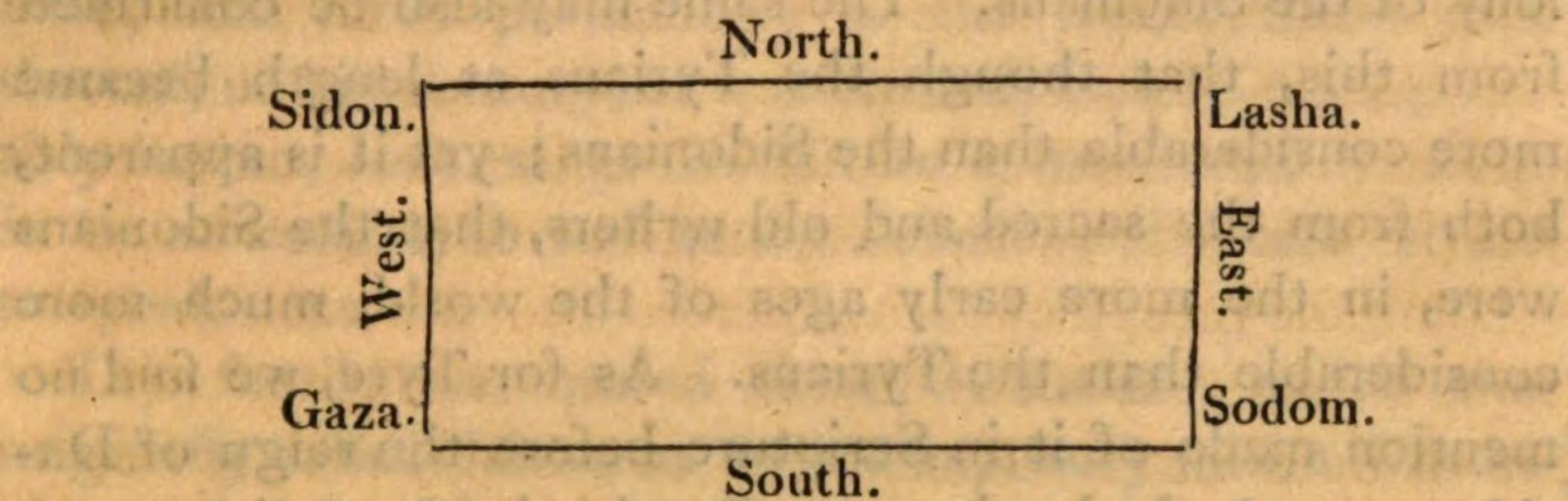
3. The descendants of Canaan.

His descendants are thus reckoned up by Moses, Gen. x. 15—18. *Canaan begat Sidon his first-born, and Heth, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite.* These were the several families of the nation of Canaan; the situation of which we must the more particularly enquire into, as being of great use to the clearer understanding of the sacred history, wherein there is frequent mention made of most of them.

4. Of the original settle-

But before we enter upon a particular enquiry after the situation of each family, it is proper to observe in general,

that some of these families seem to have, in process of time, settled themselves without the original bounds of the portion of the earth that upon the first division fell to the lot of Canaan. This seems to be what Moses intimates in the latter part of the eighteenth verse and the nineteenth verse of Gen. x. For ver. 19. Moses seems to design to tell us what was the original extent of the land of Canaan: *The border, says he, of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza; and as thou goest unto Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha.* Whereby Moses accurately describes the four angles, wherein the four borders of the land of Canaan met; as may be represented in gross by the adjoining diagram.



But now we find some of the families of Canaan seated without these bounds, in process of time, especially to the north; where in the sequel of the sacred history we meet with the Arvadite, and the Hamathite; and in other ancient writings find the footsteps of other Canaanitish families. And this seems to be no other, than what Moses designed to intimate to us, in the latter part of v. 18. where he says, *and afterward* (i. e. not at first, but in process of time) *were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad*, namely, beyond their original bounds; which he then proceeds to inform us of, v. 19. *The border* (i. e. the original border) *of the Canaanites was from Sidon, &c.* where the verb [*was*] plainly confirms the interpretation I give the forecited texts. And having premised thus much concerning the families of the Canaanites in general, I now descend to the particular situation of each

PART I. family; and I shall take them in the order they are mentioned by Moses.

5.
The situa-
tion of Si-
don, the
first-born
of Canaan.

The situation then of the family of Sidon, the first-born of Canaan, is evidently marked out to us by the famous city of that name. I have largely spoken of it in my Geography of the New Testament, Part I. chap. vi. §. 3. I shall only add here, that though Tyre is celebrated by the poets for its antiquity, and the Tyrians themselves were wont to boast thereof, as may be gathered from Isa. xxiii. 7. *Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days?* yet it is not to be doubted, but Sidon was more ancient; since in the forecited chapter of Isaiah, ver. 12. Tyre is expressly styled, *the daughter of Sidon*; by which expression is meant, that the Tyrians were a colony of the Sidonians. The same may also be confirmed from this, that though the Tyrians at length became more considerable than the Sidonians; yet it is apparent, both from the sacred and old writers, that the Sidonians were, in the more early ages of the world, much more considerable than the Tyrians. As for Tyre, we find no mention made of it in Scripture before the reign of David, except in Josh. xix. 29. But in the foregoing verse, Sidon is expressly styled *the Great*, as being then the chief city of those parts. In like manner it is observable, that old Homer never so much as once mentions Tyre; but^a often makes mention of the Sidonians; and not only so, but gives them the character of πολυδαίδαλοι, that is, of being ingenious in several arts. And agreeably hereto, all good fashions in dress, all good workmanship in making vessels for use, and also all pretty contrivances in toys, are ascribed, by the forementioned old poet, to the ingenuity and industry of the Sidonians.

6.
The situa-
tion of the
Hittites.

The second family of Canaan mentioned by Moses, is that of Heth, whose descendants are frequently styled in Scripture, *the children of Heth*, or in short *Hittites*. As

^a Iliad. xxiii. ver. 743. et Iliad. vi. ver. 289. Odyss. xv. ver. 114. et Odyss. iv. ver. 54.

Sidon planted himself in the north of the land of Canaan, CHAP.
 so Heth planted himself in the southern parts thereof, VII.
 about Hebron. For thus we read, Gen. xxiii. 3. that
 when Sarah was dead at Hebron, *Abraham spake to the
 sons of Heth* about the purchase of a burying-place; to
 which when they readily agreed, it is said, ver. 7. that
*Abraham stood up, and bowed himself to the people of the
 land, even to the children of Heth.* In like manner we
 read, Gen. xxvi. that during Isaac's dwelling at Beersheba,
 another city in the south of the land of Canaan, his son
 Esau took two Hittite women to him for wives. So that
 it may be reasonably inferred, that the family of Heth
 settled itself in the parts about Hebron, between this and
 Beersheba, that is, in the southern part of the land of Ca-
 naan, and more particularly in the mountainous part
 thereof, or hill country, as it is termed, Luke i. 39. Agree-
 ably hereto, Josh. xi. 3. the Hittite is mentioned dwelling
in the mountains, as well as the Jebusite, of whom we are
 to speak next.

This family was seated about Jerusalem, which was 7.
 originally called Jebus, as we are expressly told, 1 Chron. Situation of
 xi. 4. *And David and all Israel went to Jerusalem, which the Jebu-
 is Jebus; where the Jebusites were, the inhabitants of the sites.*
land. Where, by this last clause, *the inhabitants of the
 land*, seems to be plainly denoted this, that the Jebusites
 were the original inhabitants of this tract of the land of
 Canaan, from the first plantation after the Flood. So
 that the Jebusites adjoined on to the Hittites, in the moun-
 tains towards the north.

As the Hittites and Jebusites, so also the Amorites 8.
 dwelt in the mountainous or hilly part of the land of Ca- Situation of
 naan, as is intimated in the forecited Josh. xi. 3. and is the Amo-
 expressly asserted, Num. xiii. 29. where the men, that were rites.
 sent to search out the land, give this account of it to
 Moses, and their brethren the Israelites, as to the situation
 of the several families of the Canaanites: *The Hittites,
 and the Jebusites, and the Amorites, dwell in the moun-
 tains; and the Canaanites dwell by the sea, and by the*

PART I. *coast of Jordan.* Now as the Hittites seem to have possessed the hill country to the west and south-west of Hebron, and the Jebusites to the north; so the Amorites might settle themselves at first in the hill country to the east, and south-east of Hebron. This seems probable, because the mountainous tract lying next to Kadesh-barnea, is called the *mount of the Amorites*, Deut. i. 7. And we are told, Gen. xiv. 7. that *Chedorlaomer smote the Amorites that were in Haxexontamar*, which was the same place with Engaddi, (2 Chron. xx. 2.) and so was seated in the hilly part of the land of Canaan, to the east, or towards Jordan. And their neighbourhood to the country beyond Jordan might be the occasion, that the Moabites were in process of time dispossessed thereof by the Amorites, rather than any other family of the Canaanites. Whence that tract beyond Jordan is, I think, always denoted by the *land of the Amorites*, and Sihon the king thereof is always styled, *Sihon king of the Amorites*.

9. The Girgashite is the next family mentioned by Moses, who probably seated themselves at first along the upper part of the river of Jordan. Here on the eastern side of the sea of Tiberias or Galilee, we meet in our Saviour's time a city called Gergesa; which seems to preserve some remainders of the name of the Girgashites.
Situation of the Girgashites.

10. The Hivite we find was seated in the upper or northern parts of Canaan, and so adjoining to his brother Sidon. For we read, Judg. iii. 3. that the *Hivites dwelt in mount Lebanon, from mount Baal-hermon unto the entering in of Hamath.*
Situation of the Hivites.

11. And thus we have gone through those families of Canaan, mentioned by Moses, Gen. x. which are afterwards mentioned in the sequel of the sacred history, as continuing within the original borders of the lot of Canaan. What has been before observed concerning them, is to be understood in reference to their first settlements. For in process of time, it is very probable, and no other than what is countenanced by the sacred history, that these families intermixed one with the other. Whence we read
The foregoing nations in process of time intermixed.

of some Hivites, Amorites, and Hittites, in some other places than we have assigned them for their first settlements; and also the Amorites becoming the most potent nation in process of time; hence they are put to denote frequently any one or more of the other nations of Canaan.

CHAP.
VII.

As to the remaining families of Canaan, mentioned by Moses in this tenth chapter of Genesis, viz. the Arkite, Sinite, Arvadite, Zemarite, and Hamathite; it seems most probable to me, that those at first seated themselves within the true borders of Canaan. But in process of time, being dispossessed by the Philistines, at least of a considerable part of what they had been possessed of, from the first plantation after the Flood; they were obliged, either to crowd themselves closer together in some parts of the land of Canaan, or else to seek out abroad for new plantations.

12.

The other descendants at first probably seated themselves within the borders of Canaan.

These families being thus dispossessed of their original plantations along the sea-coast, and great part, if not the whole, of some of them being thus forced to remove out of the land of Canaan; and the remainders of them within the land of Canaan, being forced to seat themselves confusedly together, in what small tract their enemies had left them; hence it might come to pass, that the sacred writers denote these confused remainders of the said families, by the general name of their nation, calling them in general Canaanites; because they could not at that time of day tell how to distinguish them by their more peculiar names. Hence, when we read in the forecited Num. xiii. 29. that *the Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites, dwell in the mountains; and the Canaanites dwell by the sea, and by the coast of Jordan*; hereby seems to be denoted thus much, viz. the Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites, *dwell in the mountains*; and the other families of Canaan, which, being dispossessed and dispersed by the Philistines, are so mixed now together, that we can design them only by the general name of the Canaanites; these *dwell* either in what is left them *by the*

13.

What probably meant by the Canaanites, when mentioned with some other of the descendants of Canaan.

PART I. *sea*, or else where they have since seated themselves by the coast of Jordan.

14. Having shewn by what name the remainders of these families in Canaan are probably denoted in the sacred history; I shall now give an account of the places, where such, as removed out of the original border of Canaan, seated themselves. To go on then with them in the order they are mentioned, Gen. x. 17, 18. The Arkite first occurs; which is probably enough thought to have settled himself about that part of Mount Libanus, where is placed by Ptolemy and others a city called Arce.

15. Not far from this settlement of the Arkite, did the Sinite likewise settle himself; for in the parts adjoining, St. Jerom tells us, was once a city called Sin, which though in succeeding ages it was ruined by war, yet the place where it had stood still retained its name. There is mention made, Ezek. xxx. 15. of Sin, a place in Ægypt: but that this was so named from Sin, the Canaanite, is not probable. The word Sin in the Syriac language denotes the same as Pelusium in the Greek, i. e. *a dirty place*: and hence this Sin is thought to be the same as Pelusium, which, therefore, is set down in the margin of our Bible in this place.

16. As for the Arvadite, the little isle of Aradus, lying up more north on the coast of Syria, does preserve in its name so much of the name of Arvad, that it may be with great probability conjectured, that it took its name from the Arvadites, who seated themselves here in this isle, as a place of greater security from any new invasions.

17. In the neighbourhood on the continent did the Zemarite probably fix; forasmuch as on the coast there we find a town called Simyra, not far from Orthosia. And Eusebius does expressly deduce the origin of the Orthosians from the Samareans. There is also a city called Sema-
rain mentioned by Josephus, as lying in the tribe of Benjamin; which perhaps might be so called from some of the Zemarites, that settled there within the land of Canaan.

The only remaining family is the Hamathite, or the inhabitants of the land of Hamath, often mentioned in sacred writ, and whose chief city was called Hamath. This some understand of Antioch, a famous city in these parts, others of Epiphania. And St. Jerom expressly affirms, that there were two cities of this name, one called *Hamath the Great*, whereby may be denoted Antioch; the *Lesser Hamath* being Epiphania, known by that name to the very time of Josephus the historian, and also of St. Jerom, as they both affirm. And thus we have gone through all the eleven families of the nation of Canaan.

CHAP.
VII.

18.

Situation of
the Hamathite.

I proceed now to speak of the countries adjoining to Canaan, and possessed by such as were not descended of Canaan. To begin from the south-west quarter. We find mention made of a people, called the Avims, formerly inhabiting these parts from Hazerim unto Azzah, Deut. ii. 23. where as by Azzah is understood, according to the consent of, I think, all interpreters, Gaza; so by Hazerim is probably to be understood the same place, that is called Hazaroth, Num. xi. 35. near to which the children of Israel had one of their stations, as they travelled through the deserts of Arabia.

19.

The Avims
where seated.

These people were, as is likely, descendants of Cush; and in process of time were dispossessed of this tract by the Philistines, descendants of Mizraim; who made themselves masters, not only of the country of the Avims, but also of the adjacent parts of the land of Canaan, lying on the sea side. This part of Canaan was distinguished into five lordships, denominated from their chief towns, viz. Gaza, Ashdod, Eshkalon, Gath, and Ekron, Josh. xiii. 3. of which more hereafter. It suffices to have observed here, that the Philistines were thus possessed of a considerable tract in the west of Canaan, and also of the country of the Avims, on the south-west thereof, at the time when Abraham came to sojourn in the land of Canaan.

20.

The Philistines possess
themselves
of the country of the
Avims, and
the adjacent tract of
Canaan, on
the west or
south-west.

On the south of Canaan, the Horites inhabited mount Seir, and the adjacent parts so far as the wilderness of Paran. Further on eastwards, and south-east of Canaan,

21.

The Horites, Emims, Zuzims, and

PART I. dwelt a gigantic or very robust people, called the Emims. And full east of Canaan dwelt another gigantic people, called Zuzims or Zamzummims. Lastly, on the north-east dwelt the Rephaims, who were also of the same gigantic race. These were the names of the several people, that inhabited the countries adjoining to Canaan, on the south-west, south, south-east, east, and north-east, when Abraham came into the land of Canaan. Whence these were respectively descended, is not so easy to tell. As to the country adjoining northward to the land of Canaan, it was, as we have shewn, possessed by some of the families of Canaan.

22. It is indeed said, Gen. xiv. 5—7. that when Chedorlaomer king of Elam, with his confederates, smote the Rephaims, Zuzims, Emims, and Horites, they smote also the *country of the Amalekites*; but this must be understood proleptically, i. e. that they smote the country, which was afterwards known by the name of the country of the Amalekites. For the Amalekites were probably descended of Amalek, a grandson of Esau; and so there were no such people in the days of Abraham and Chedorlaomer. And having thus prepared the way for the clearer understanding the history of the sojournings of the Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the promised Land; I now proceed to follow the thread of the Mosaic history, and to give an account of the (geographical part of the) sojournings of the three Patriarchs aforesaid, which takes up the greatest part of what remains of the book called Genesis.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Sojourning of Abraham.

IT has been before observed, that Terah, with his son Abraham, and grandson Lot, and some others, left Ur of the Chaldees, and removed to Haran or Charran, in the western part of Mesopotamia. Now as the proto-martyr St. Stephen assures us, that this first removal was made upon God's appearing to Abraham, and giving him orders thus to do; so he acquaints us, that by God's appointment, *when his father Terah was dead*, Abraham removed from Charran into the land of Canaan, Acts vii. 3, 4. Gen. xii. 1—5. And Moses informs us, that *Abraham passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh*, Gen. xii. 6.

The place here called Sichem, is the same with Sychem, Acts vii. 16. and with Sychar, John iv. 5. and with Shalem, a city of Shechem, Gen. xxxiii. 18. or (as it is plainly called, Gen. xxxv. 4. and in many other places) Shechem. The thing in short is this: the proper and original name of the city seems to have been Shalem; which in process of time grew into disuse, at least among the Israelites, these calling it Shechem or Sichem, from Hamor's son of that name. I have spoken of it already in my Geography of the New Testament, Part I. chap. iv. §. 2, 3.

The piece of ground here called the *plain of Moreh*, is likely the same with the *field, where Jacob afterwards spread his tent, and a parcel whereof he bought at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, for an hundred pieces of money*, or, as the Hebrew may be rendered, *for an hundred lambs*, Gen. xxxiii. 19. Whence it may be probably conjectured, either that the way then of buying and selling, was by exchange of cattle for the thing bought; or else that the money then used had on it the stamp of some cattle or other. Agreeably hereunto it is

1.

Abraham comes into Canaan.

2.

Abraham comes to Shalem, a city of Shechem.

3.

The plain of Moreh, where.

PART I. thought, that among the Latins, the word *pecunia* came to denote *money* from *pecus*, *cattle*. And on the same account, that proverbial saying among the Greeks, Βῆς ἐπὶ γλώττῃ, *There's a bull or cow on his tongue*, came to be applied to such an one, as was bribed to say what he said, by having money given him, which had on it the stamp of a bull or cow. To the old money used among the Israelites, and having on it the stamp of a lamb, St. Peter is thought by some to have elegantly alluded, when he tells the Jewish converts, that they *knew that they were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold,—but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish, and without spot*, 1 Pet. i. 18, 19. But to return to the parcel of ground, for which the money above mentioned was given by Jacob. As it was in all likelihood a parcel of this *plain of Moreh*, where Abraham, at his first coming into the land of Canaan, for some time sojourned; so it was that portion which Jacob at his death bequeathed to Joseph, as a mark of his particular favour to him, Gen. xlviii. 22. and which is mentioned in the Gospel of St. John, iv. 5. where we learn, that there was a well therein, called Jacob's well, as being by him caused to be made; and on which our Saviour sate, whilst he discoursed with the woman of Samaria. That this plain of Moreh was situated near to the two mounts or hills, Gerizim and Ebal, we learn from Deut. xi. 29, 30. where it is said of these two hills, *Are they not in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal, beside the plain of Moreh?* But now the parcel of ground bought by Jacob, and given to Joseph, lay near these two hills; as I have observed in my Geography of the New Testament, from Mr. Maundrell; and therefore it is not, I think, to be questioned, but that the said parcel of ground was a part, at least, of the *plain of Moreh*. I am apt to think, that the *hill of Moreh*, mentioned Judg. vii. 1. was one of the two forementioned hills.

4.
The words
otherwise
rendered,
the high oak.

The three places of the Old Testament already mentioned, viz. Gen. xii. 6. Deut. xi. 30. and Judg. vii. 1. are

the only places in Scripture, where mention is made of the *plain of Moreh* in our translation. I use this restriction, because the Hebrew words thus rendered may be rendered *the high oak*, and are actually so rendered in the Septuagint version, in the two first of the three places of the Old Testament above cited. And it seems very probable, that there was a remarkable oak in or near this *plain of Moreh*; since we read, Gen. xxxv. 4. that Jacob hid the strange gods, that they of his household delivered up to him upon his demand, *under the oak which was by Shechem*. So we read, Josh. xxiv. 25, 26. that after Joshua had made a covenant with the people in Shechem, he took a great stone, and set it under an oak.—And in Judg. ix. 6. we read, that *all the men of Shechem gathered together,—and went and made Abimelech king by the oak,—that was in Shechem*. For so it is rendered in the margin of our Bible; in the text it is rendered, *in the plain—that was in Shechem*. In short, since it appears highly probable, that the *oak* referred to in the forecited places of Scripture stood in or near the *plain of Moreh*; it follows, that the same place is denoted, both by *the high oak*, in the Septuagint version, and such as follow it, and by the *plain of Moreh*, in our and other like translations.

Abraham having sojourned for some time in the *plain of Moreh*, near Sichem, he removed from thence unto a mountain on the east of Bethel, and pitched his tent, having Bethel on the west, and Hai on the east, Gen. xii. 8. Hence, after some time, he removed more southward, ver. 9. and a famine arising in the land of Canaan, he went down into Egypt to sojourn there, ver. 10. whence he returned again into Canaan, and, by several journeys from the south, came at length to Bethel, even unto the place where his tent had been at the beginning, between Bethel and Hai, Gen. xiii. 3.

As to Bethel, it is so called here in the history of Abraham proleptically; for it had this name given to it afterwards by Abraham's grandson Jacob; and therefore I shall defer speaking any more of it, till we come to the

CHAP.
VIII.

5.

Abraham
removes to
Bethel,
goes down
into Egypt,
and returns
again to
Bethel.

6.

Situation of
Bethel and
Hai.

PART I. history of Jacob, than this, that it lay somewhat south of Sichem. The city here called Hai is the same called Ai in our translation of the Book of Joshua, where we have, chap. seventh and eighth, a large account given us, how it was taken by the Israelites. It lay, as Moses here tells us, to the east of Bethel.

7. Abraham and Lot part friendly. Some time after Abraham's return with Lot, to the mount between Bethel and Hai, *their substance being grown so great, that they could not dwell together*, Abraham and his nephew Lot, upon a friendly motion of the former, agree to part: and Lot having the choice given him by his uncle, *chose him all the plain of Jordan*, and so went eastward, and *dwelt in the cities of the said plain, and pitched his tent near Sodom*. But Abraham removed his tent, and came and dwelt in the plain of Mamre, which is in Hebron, Gen. xiii. 5—18.

8. Lot carried away captive by Chedorlaomer, and recovered by Abraham. Some time after Abraham and Lot were thus parted, the king of Sodom, together with the kings of the adjoining cities, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Bela, fling off their subjection to Chedorlaomer king of Elam, to whom they had been tributary for twelve years. Hereupon Chedorlaomer, with Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, and with Tidal king of nations, came, and having conquered the neighbouring countries, join battle with the king of Sodom and his confederates, in the vale of Siddim. These last being worsted and put to flight, the conquerors take away Lot, among others, captive with them. News hereof being brought to Abraham in the plain of Mamre, he with a party of three hundred and eighteen men of his own servants, and some few others, pursue the conquerors unto Dan; where falling upon them by night, he *smote them, and pursued them unto Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus*. And he brought back all the goods, and particularly Lot and his goods, &c. In his return, Abraham was met by the king of Sodom, at the valley of Shaveh, which is the King's dale. And thither Melchisedek king of Salem, and priest of the most high God, brought forth bread and wine to

Abraham, and blessed him, and received of Abraham the tithes or tenth part of all the booty he had taken, Gen. xiv. CHAP. VIII.

Having thus given in short the history of Gen. xiii. and xiv. I am now to give an account of the geographical part of the said history, or of the several places mentioned therein. I shall begin with the *plain of Jordan*, which Lot made choice of to dwell in upon his separating from Abraham. Hereby is denoted, without doubt, the plain, through which the river Jordan runs, before it falls into the body of waters, called the *Lacus Asphaltites*, or the *Dead Sea*, by common writers, but by the sacred historian, the *Salt Sea*, Gen. xiv. 3. That this sea is bounded on the north with the plain of Jericho, we are assured from the Reverend Mr. Maundrell, who was an eye-witness of it; but how much farther, or beyond, the plain of Jericho, the plain of Jordan extends itself, is not so easy to determine. It is evident from 1 Kings vii. 46. that it extends itself as high northward, as to the place where stood Succoth: for in the forecited place we are told, that the vessels of brass, made for the house of the Lord by the order of Solomon, were cast *in the plain of Jordan between Succoth and Zarthan*. And Succoth being, I think, by the agreement of all Geographers, placed not far south of the sea of Cinnereth or Galilee; hence it appears, that by the *plain of Jordan* was denoted the greatest part of the flat country, through which the river Jordan runs, from its coming out of the sea of Cinnereth, to its falling into the Salt Sea. But this is not so to be understood, as if the plain of Jordan was one continued plain of such length, without any unevenness or risings, and descents; or as if it was all along of an equal breadth. It is clear enough, that it was narrower in some places than other; and it is more clear, that within this plain were several valleys. Hence we read, Deut. xxxiv. 3. of the *plain of the valley of Jericho*, and also Gen. xiv. 3. of the *vale of Siddim*; which were both parts of the plain of Jordan. And it is no wonder, that, notwithstanding such hills and vales, the

9.
Of the plain
of Jordan.

PART I. country about Jordan should be called the plain of Jordan, as being in the main a plain open country; since this is no other than what we have an instance of in our own island. For the open and generally plain country about the city of Salisbury, thence called by the name of Salisbury Plains, have within the compass of them several valleys, called by the inhabitants of those parts *bourns*.

10. Of Sodom,
Gomorrah,
Admah,
Zeboim,
and Bela. Having said enough of the *plain of Jordan*, I proceed to speak of the cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Bela, which stood therein, and therefore are frequently styled, *the cities of the plain*. As to their particular situation, nothing certain can be, I think, determined concerning it; and therefore we must be content to acquiesce in the situation commonly assigned them, and according to which they are placed in the map hereunto belonging. However it seems plain from Scripture, that in general they all five lay within the vale of Siddim, so called before the destruction of these parts by fire from heaven. From the number of these cities, this country is sometimes denoted by the name of Pentapolis, i. e. *the country of the five cities*. Of these five cities, four were overwhelmed by the judgment of God, poured down upon them for their great and unnatural wickedness. The fifth was preserved at the entreaty of Lot, who fled thither from Sodom: and because one motive made use of by Lot, for its being spared, was that it was *a little city*; hence ever after it was called Zoar, i. e. *the little city*; whereas before its name was Bela, Gen. xiv. 2. and xix. 20—22. And as Bela was the least of the five cities, so Sodom seems to have been the greatest and most considerable of all, and Gomorrah the next to it in both respects. Hence the king of Sodom is mentioned first of the kings of these five cities, and the king of Gomorrah second. And hence the wickedness, as well as destruction, of these cities is frequently denoted by that of Sodom only, or else of Sodom and Gomorrah. In Deut xxix. 22—24. Moses describes the dreadfulness of God's judgments, that would fall upon the Israelites, if they gave

themselves over to wickedness, by an allusion to the destruction of these parts ; wherein he expressly makes mention of all the four cities that were destroyed, and describes the divine judgment upon them in these words: *When the generation to come shall see—that the whole land thereof is brimstone, and salt, and burning; that it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein, (like the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim, which the Lord overthrew in his anger, and in his wrath,) even all nations shall say, Wherefore has the Lord done thus unto this land?* The prophet Hosea, elegantly and pathetically setting forth God's great mercy towards the Israelites, and his unwillingness to punish them, notwithstanding their great ingratitude, useth these words, as spoken by God to them: *How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? How shall I deliver thee up, Israel? How shall I make thee as Admah? How shall I set thee as Zeboim?* xi. 8. Where we have mention made of Admah and Zeboim, in reference to the divine judgment poured on the country we are speaking of, without any mention made of Sodom and Gomorrah: and this is, I think, the only place in Scripture, where the said two cities are so mentioned.

What is more to be said in relation to these places will fall in with what we are to observe concerning the vale of Siddim, and the Salt Sea. Now this vale of Siddim is never mentioned under this name in holy writ, but in this fourteenth chapter of Genesis, and so before the destruction of Sodom, and the other cities. And in this very chapter, ver. 3. we are expressly told by the sacred historian, that the vale of Siddim is the Salt Sea. From which, and other circumstances mentioned by Moses, may be reasonably inferred these following particulars. 1. That as the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. did lie within the extent of the plain of Jordan; so they lay in a vale thereof, which was called the vale of Siddim.

2. That this vale was well watered, before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, we are expressly told by the sacred historian, Gen. xiii. 10. For there he tells us,

11.
Of the vale
of Siddim.

12.
The text,
Gen. xiii.
10. ex-
plained ac-

PART I. *that the plain of Jordan was well watered every where, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, (even like the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt,) as thou comest unto Zoar.* The last clause, *as thou comest unto Zoar*, has much perplexed Commentators, whilst they refer it to the land of Egypt, in the clause immediately preceding; whereas, if what is said by way of comparison of the plain of Jordan, to the garden of the Lord, (i. e. the garden of Eden,) and to the land of Egypt, be understood as inserted by way of parenthesis, the difficulty will be taken away, and the import of the last clause will be plain and easy, in reference to that foregoing part of the verse, which ought to be immediately connected with it, leaving out or setting aside the parenthesis. For then the meaning of the verse will amount to this; *That before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, the plain of Jordan was well watered every where, as thou comest unto Zoar, i. e. in the parts where Sodom and Gomorrah stood; or in short, in the vale of Siddim.* This, I think, is a very natural, easy, and pertinent interpretation of the last clause of the verse, if we read it Zoar, (as it is read in the present Hebrew, and in many versions,) and so understand it of that city, in the vale of Siddim, which Lot fled to.

13. There is indeed another way of interpreting the said clause, namely, by supposing Zoar to be a false reading for Zoan. Such a supposition is the more allowable, not only because the difference lies in the change but of one letter; but also because it appears, that the Syriac translator actually read it so. If then the original reading was Zoan, the last clause may be excellently well connected to the land of Ægypt, in the clause immediately foregoing. For Zoan was a famous, and, as is likely, in those days the capital city of Ægypt, lying near or on the Nile, and on the lower part thereof, or not far from the sea-coasts, where the said river is divided into several branches, and so the country thereabout more watered than in other parts. In short, it is thought to be, and is rendered by the Seventy Interpreters, Tanis; from which one of the

cording to
the com-
mon read-
ing.

The same
text ex-
plained ac-
cording to
a different
reading.

mouths of the Nile was denominated *Ostium Tanaiticum*, *the Tanaitic mouth*. Upon the whole therefore, according to this reading, the import of the verse will be this; that *the plain of Jordan was well watered every where*, about Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. *before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah*; yea the plain was so well watered, that it was in this respect *as the garden of the Lord*, or *as the land of Egypt*, and particularly *as thou comest unto Zoan*, i. e. in the parts about Zoan, where the Nile is divided into several branches. I have been the fuller in explaining the last clause of the forecited Gen. xiii. 10. because it will be of use in the third particular. For,

3. From this comparison of the parts about Sodom and Gomorrah, to the parts about Zoan, it may be not without some ground inferred, that as in Egypt, about Zoan, the Nile is divided into several streams, before it falls into the Mediterranean sea; so in the *vale of Siddim*, the waters of Jordan were, before the destruction of Sodom, divided in like manner into several branches before they came to that common place, into which the said several branches emptied themselves; as may be seen better by looking on the map hereunto belonging, than conceived by any description in words. The same reason that occasioned the river Nile to be divided into so many branches, in its lower part, or before it falls into the sea, might likewise occasion the same to be done to the river Jordan, in its lower part, or before it came to that place, where it was finally received, at least above ground. It is then obvious why rivers, the further they run, grow greater and greater; and consequently are apt to overflow, though not so suddenly, yet in a much larger manner, and for a much longer time, towards their mouths, than towards their risings. Hence, either by such frequent overflowings, the Nile in process of time made itself several passages in its lower part into the sea, namely, where the ground was lowest; or else they were made by the industry of the Ægyptians, to remedy the damages that might accrue from the overflowing of the Nile in these

14.

The river Jordan, probably divided into several streams in the vale of Siddim.

PART I. lower parts to too great an height, and from its continuance for too long a time. In like manner, the river Jordan being subject to somewhat like overflowings, as the river Nile, (of which we have intimation, Josh. iii. 15.) it seems very probable, that either, in process of time, it made itself different channels in its lower parts, where it found low ground; or else, that the inhabitants opened several channels for it, for the reasons above mentioned, in reference to the Nile. The river Jordan having no visible communication with the Ocean, or Main Sea, it is most reasonably supposed, that its waters are conveyed into it by some subterraneous passage. And it is most rational to suppose, that before the destruction of Sodom and the adjoining cities, the waters of Jordan, into how many streams soever they were divided in the vale of Siddim, did all empty themselves into one common receptacle, to which the subterraneous passage does pertain. How large this common receptacle was, before the destruction of Sodom, or whereabouts it lay, it is impossible now certainly to determine. Thus much is certain, that it was but a small part of what is now called the Asphaltite Lake, or the Salt Sea; forasmuch as the present sea takes up the vale of Siddim besides. And it seems most reasonable to suppose, that the original receptacle of the waters of Jordan lay in the southern part of the present sea, (as may be seen in the map,) because the course of the waters is southwards.

15.
The vale of
Siddim
turned into
the sea,
called the
Salt Sea.

4. And lastly, it is observable, that what was before the destruction of Sodom a fruitful vale, came afterwards to be the Salt Sea. For the sacred historian expressly asserts, that what at the time of the fight, between the four kings with five, was the vale of Siddim, is the same now with that which is the Salt Sea. For his words are, Gen. xiv. 3. *All these were joined together in the vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea.* The same is confirmed, Gen. xix. 24, 25. *Then the Lord rained upon Sodom, and upon Gomorrah, brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven. And he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the*

inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground. For here it is said, that God *overthrew*, as the *cities*, so *all the plain*, that is, *all the plain or vale of Siddim*. But now by *overthrowing the plain*, can well be meant nothing else, but God's so altering the place as to be no longer a *vale for pasture, and the like*; but instead thereof to become a *sea*, or large receptacle of water, called, from the great quantity of salt, wherewith its water is impregnated, the Salt Sea.

It seems made a question by some, whether these parts did abound with brimstone and salt, or with sulphureous and saline matter, before the destruction of Sodom. That they abounded with *bitumen*, some infer from Gen. xiv. 10. where it is said, that *the vale of Siddim was full of slime-pits*; where the Hebrew word *חמר*, *chemar*, which we render *slime*; others, particularly the Seventy Interpreters, render *Ἀσφαλτος*, or *bitumen*. And the learned Bochart has spent a whole chapter (viz. chap. xi. of his Phaleg) to shew, that it ought to be so rendered. But be this as it will, it is observable, that though *bitumen* is sometimes rendered, or used by some to denote *brimstone*; yet, properly speaking, it is a different thing: and the word used by the sacred historian, for to denote *brimstone* in the destruction of these parts, is a quite different word, namely, *גופרית*, *gophrith*. So that whatever is in these parts to be found of *gophrith*, or *brimstone*, more properly so called, is rather to be looked upon as some remainders or effects of the brimstone rained down from heaven, than as the natural and original product of these parts. And the same, I think, is to be understood, as to that quantity of *saline* particles, wherewith either the waters or the earth hereabout is now impregnated. There are two considerations, which seem to me sufficiently to warrant this opinion; one of which is drawn from the nature of things, the other from the testimony of Revelation.

That which is drawn from the nature of things, has regard to the nature of the *soil* in the vale of Siddim, before the destruction of Sodom; to the nature of *bitumen*, and

16.
The brimstone and salt in these parts are to be ascribed to the divine judgment on Sodom, &c. rather than to any natural cause.

17.
This confirmed by considerations drawn

PART I. also to the nature of *gophrith*, or *brimstone*, more especially so called; and lastly, to the nature of *salt*. As to the nature of the soil in the vale of Siddim, it is evident, that it was originally a fruitful soil, yielding very good pasturage. For this was the motive, which induced Lot to make choice of this tract to sojourn in.

18.
Secondly,
from the
nature of
bitumen,
especially
as to the
places
where it is
produced.

And the same may be confirmed (though, I think, it needs no confirmation) from the nature of *bitumen*, supposing the Hebrew word *chemar* to denote the same. For, upon comparing passages of natural history one with the other, it will appear, that *bitumen* is found in the richest soils. Thus we read Gen. xi. 3. that the builders of the city and tower of Babel had brick for stone, and *chemar* (which we render *slime*, the Seventy Interpreters and others, *asphaltus* or *bitumen*) for mortar. Now the place, where this work was undertaken, was the valley of Shinar, which, by the agreement of all writers, is represented as of a more than ordinary rich soil. In like manner we read, Exod. ii. 3. that the ark of bulrushes wherein Moses was put, was daubed with *chemar* and *pitch*; where we render *chemar*, as elsewhere, *slime*, the Septuagint and other versions, *bitumen*. Now the poor Hebrew woman, Moses's mother, making use of *bitumen*, it is not improbable that it abounds in Egypt about the Nile, which is likewise of a very rich soil. Whence it seems rational to suppose, that the vale of Siddim abounding with pits of *chemar*, before the destruction of Sodom, was of a like nature with the vale of Shinar, or the parts of Egypt along the Nile, that is, of a very rich fruitful soil naturally.

19.
Thirdly,
from the
nature of
brimstone
and salt.

But now if we consider the places, where *gophrith* or *brimstone* more specially so called, and where *salt* or *saline matter* is found, they will, I suppose, be of a different nature; not of a rich and fruitful soil, but of a barren one and unfruitful. And therefore, from this *physical* or *natural* consideration, it seems rational to infer, that whatever of *gophrith*, i. e. *sulphur* or *brimstone* more properly so called, and whatever of *salt* or *saline matter* is or has been found in the parts we are speaking of, since the destruction

of Sodom, it has been the relics or effects of the divine vengeance, and was not there before.

CHAP.
VIII.

This hypothesis may, I think, receive no little confirmation from several expressions in sacred writ. Among which that already mentioned, Deut. xxix. 22—24. shall stand first: *When they see the plagues of that land,—that the whole land is brimstone, and salt, and burning; that it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth thereon, (like the overthrow of Sodom, and Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim, which the Lord overthrew in his anger and in his wrath;)* even all nations shall say, *Wherefore has the Lord done thus unto this land? What meaneth the heat of this great anger?* It is, I think, sufficiently evident to a common understanding, that the *land's becoming brimstone, and salt, and burning*, is here mentioned, as a true and proper effect of the divine *anger and wrath* upon the said land: and whereas this great punishment is compared to the *overthrow of Sodom*; it seems naturally to follow, that the land of Sodom's becoming *brimstone and salt*, was a true and proper effect of the great anger of the Lord against it. Moreover, that the *burning or fire* rained down from heaven on Sodom, was a true effect of the divine wrath, no one in his right senses will deny; but now *brimstone and salt* are here mentioned, not only with, but before *burning*, and therefore are to be looked on, as equal effects of the divine wrath. Nay, it is expressly said, Gen. xix. 24. that God rained down *brimstone as well as fire out of heaven upon Sodom*; and it is an opinion received by the Jewish doctors, that *salt* was rained down together with the brimstone and fire. What is added more concerning the said land's becoming (not only *brimstone, and salt, and burning*, but also) *not sown, nor bearing, nor any grass growing thereon*, is represented likewise as effects of the divine judgment upon such a land, as it had been upon the land of Sodom. But this distinction may be truly made, that the *brimstone, and salt, and burning*, were the *immediate* effects of the divine vengeance on Sodom and the rest; whereas the *not being sown, nor bearing, nor any grass growing thereon*, were the *mediate*

20.

The same confirmed from Scripture, and first from Deut. xxix. 22.

PART I. effects thereof, that is, such as followed from the land's being made *brimstone, and salt, and burning*. Though it is possible, that by the *burning* here mentioned may be denoted, not only the fire rained down from heaven, but also the *burning* or *heat* that naturally arises from brimstone and salt, incorporated with land, and whereby the land is rendered barren, not fit to be *sown*, and such as *grass will not grow upon*.

21.
Secondly,
from Judg.
ix. 45.

And this may be confirmed by the next place of Scripture to be cited, viz. Judg. ix. 45. where we read, that Abimelech the son of Gideon, having taken Shechem, *beat it down, and sowed it with salt*. Where by Abimelech's *sowing it with salt*, several commentators understand that he did so, in token that for the future it should lie desolate and barren, forasmuch as salt is apt to cause barrenness.

22.
Thirdly,
from Jer.
xvii. 5, 6.

And this interpretation (though rejected by some, yet) receives strength from Jerem. xvii. 5, 6. For the Prophet having, ver. 5. pronounced *the man to be cursed that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departs from the Lord*; adds, ver. 6. *For he shall be like the heath in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh; but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, in a (N. B.) salt land, and not inhabited*. Where we see a *salt land* used to denote a land, which by reason of its barrenness is *not inhabited*.

23.
Fourthly,
from Ze-
phan. ii. 9.

There remains one place more of Scripture to be taken notice of, and it is Zephan. ii. 9. *As I live, saith the Lord,—surely Moab shall be as Sodom, and the children of Ammon as Gomorrah, even the breeding of nettles, and salt-pits, and a perpetual desolation*. This text is apparently very pertinent to our purpose, inasmuch as here is an allusion made expressly to the punishment of Sodom and Gomorrah; and also it is here clearly intimated, that one part of the punishment of Sodom and Gomorrah was this, their being made *salt-pits*.

24.
Lastly, from
Gen. xiii.
10.

In a word, Mr. Maundrell^a tells us, that the water of

^a Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 82, 83.

the lake is salt to the highest degree; and that, coming near the lake or sea, he passed through a kind of coppice of bushes and reeds. In the midst of which their guide, who was an Arab, shewed him and his companions a fountain of fresh water, rising not a furlong from the sea. *Fresh water*, says Mr. Maundrell, he called it, but we found it *brackish*. So that it seems, it is only fresh comparatively, that is, it is *not salt to the highest degree*, as the sea itself is. Now had the soil been always thus impregnated with salt, the waters must have been so too. But a place, where only salt or brackish water is to be had, or where it is so for the generality only, is no commodious place for pasturage. And therefore, when we are told, Gen. xiii. 10. that one motive that induced Lot to make choice of the *plain of Jordan*, particularly the part of it about Sodom, to sojourn in, was its being *well watered*; it is rationally to be supposed, that the waters in those parts were then not brackish, but fresh. And this may suffice to shew, what was the natural state of the land of Sodom, and the adjoining cities, before their overthrow, and what the same became afterwards by the terrible but just judgment of God.

I shall now adjoin some particulars concerning this tract, taken out of Mr. Maundrell, and not mentioned in my Geography of the New Testament, as being more proper to be reserved to this place. He^b tells us then, that coming within about half an hour of the sea, they found the ground uneven, and varied into hillocks; much resembling those places in England, where there have been anciently lime-kilns. Whether these might be the pits, at which the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah were overthrown by the four kings, I will not, says he, determine. Then he takes notice of the fountain of fresh water, as the Arab called it, above mentioned.

After which he tells us, that the Dead Sea is inclosed, on the east and west, with exceeding high mountains; on

25.

Some observations concerning the present state of the Salt Sea, and the adjacent tract, taken from Mr. Maundrell.

26.

The reputed extent of the Salt Sea.

^b Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 82—84.

PART I. the north it is bounded with the plain of Jericho, on which side it receives the waters of Jordan. On the south it is open, and extends beyond the reach of the eye. It is said to be twenty-four leagues long, and six or seven broad.

27. On the shore of the lake, or Dead Sea, we found, says he, a black sort of pebble, which being held in the flame of a candle, soon burns, and yields a smoke of an intolerable stench. It has this property, that it loses only of its weight, but not of its bulk, by burning. The hills bordering upon the lake are said to abound with this sort of sulphureous stones. I saw pieces of it, says my author, at the convent of St. John in the wilderness, two feet square. They were carved in *basso relievo*, and polished to as great a lustre as black marble is capable of, and were designed for the ornament of the new church at the convent.

28. As for the *bitumen*, for which this sea has been so famous, there was none at the place where we were, says Mr. Maundrell. But it is gathered near the mountains on both sides in great plenty. I had, adds he, several lumps of it brought me to Jerusalem. It exactly resembles pitch, and cannot readily be distinguished from it, but by the sulphureousness of its smell and taste.

29. On the west side of the sea is a small promontory, near which, as our guide told us, stood the monument of Lot's metamorphosed wife; part of which, if they may be credited, is visible at this day.

30. As for the *apples of Sodom* so much talked of, I neither saw nor heard of any hereabouts. Nor was there any tree to be seen near the lake, from which one might expect such a kind of fruit. Which induces me, says Mr. Maundrell, to believe, that there may be a greater deceit in this fruit, than that which is usually reported of it; and that its very being, as well as its beauty, is a fiction, only kept up (as, my Lord Bacon observes, many other false notions are) because it serves for a good allusion, and helps the poets to a similitude. Such is the account given

us, by the late reverend and ingenious Mr. Maundrell, of the *Asphaltite Lake*, (or *Dead Sea*, called by Moses the *Salt Sea*, and sometimes the *Sea of the Plain*, and which was originally the vale of Siddim,) and the parts adjacent.

CHAP.
VIII.

Having spoken of the vale of Siddim, wherein the five cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Bela, all of them once stood; and the five kings whereof were overcome by Chedorlaomer king of Elam, together with his confederates, Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, and Tidal king of nations; I proceed to enquire, where were seated the kingdoms of the two kings last mentioned. For as to the other two kingdoms of Elam and Shinar, their situation is known from what has been already said, concerning the settlement of Elam, the son of Shem, in the province of Elimais, and the adjoining parts of Persia; and concerning the land of Shinar. So that by the king of Elam and king of Shinar is to be understood much the same, as the then king of Persia, and the king of Babylon. As for Ellasar, whereof Arioch was king, it seems probably enough to be that country in Arabia, whose inhabitants are by Ptolemy called Elisari. And the nations, of which Tidal is here said to be king, are most probably the same with those styled (Josh. xii. 23.) the *nations of Gilgal*; where by Gilgal, it is reasonably conjectured, is not to be understood the place near the river Jordan, so named by Joshua; but Galilee, and particularly that part of it which was called *Galilee of the nations*. For *Galilee of the nations*, and the *nations of Galilee*, may well be taken for two expressions denoting one and the same country. The grounds on which this interpretation of the *nations of Gilgal* is founded, shall be taken notice of, when we come to the geography of the book of Joshua.

31.

Of the king
of Ellasar,
and king of
nations.

As for Dan, whither Abraham followed after Chedorlaomer, and where he fell upon him, and worsted him, it is so named, Gen. xiv. 14. proleptically; this name being not given to it till long after, as we learn, Judg. xviii. 29. Its name before was Laish, as we learn in the same text :

32.

Of Dan, or
Lashah.

PART I. or, as it is otherwise called with some variation, Leshem, Josh. xix. 47. The same is probably enough thought to be the Lashah mentioned Gen. x. 19. as one of the borders of the land of Canaan. It was called in the times of the New Testament, Cæsarea Philippi; and accordingly under that name I have spoken of it in my Geography of the New Testament, Part I. chap. vi. §. 5.

33. Abraham, having smote the army of Chedorlaomer, and
Of Hobah. put him to flight, pursued after him to Hobah, which place is not, as I can find, any where else mentioned in sacred writ. And therefore we must be content with the general description, given of its situation by the sacred historian in this chapter, where he tells us, v. 15. that it was *on the left hand of Damascus*. As for the city of Damascus, I have spoken largely of it in my Geography of the New Testament, Part II. chap. i. §. 2.

34. So likewise in my Geography of the New Testament,
Of Salem, and the valley of Shaveh. Part I. chap. ii. §. 4. I have spoken of Salem, whereof Melchisedek was king, and which is generally agreed to be the same afterwards called Jerusalem. The *valley of Shaveh*, which, the sacred historian here tells us, was the same with the King's dale, is one of the valleys near Jerusalem, and thought by some to be the same with the *valley of Jehoshaphat*, or that valley which lies between Jerusalem and mount Olivet, and through which the brook Cedron runs.

35. We have now taken sufficient notice of the several
Of Hebron. places mentioned in Gen. xiii. and xiv. except Hebron; whither Abraham removed, after he and Lot were separated one from the other. This is a city frequently mentioned in the sacred history, and of great repute in those days; and therefore I shall insist the longer upon it.

36. It seems to have the name of Hebron given it by the
Called before Kirjath-Arba, and why. Israelites, whereas it was before called Kirjath-Arba, Josh. xiv. 15. or the city of Arba, as it is rendered Josh. xv. 13. the word *Arba* in the Hebrew language denotes *four*; and from hence and from Josh. xiv. 15. wrong interpreted, there seems to have arisen a fabulous tradition among the

Jewish writers, that this city had the name of Kirjath-Arba given it, as denoting the *City of Four*, because there were buried here four most illustrious men, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; as also four illustrious women, Eve, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah. That all the other persons here mentioned, except Adam and Eve, were buried near Hebron, is evident from the sacred history. But that Adam also and Eve were buried here is only a fabulous tradition, which seems to have arisen (as I before intimated) from a misinterpretation of Josh. xiv. 15. *The name of Hebron before was (Kirjath-Arba, i. e.) the city of Arba, a great man among the Anakims: which the Jews understand thus: The name of Hebron before was (Kirjath-Arba, i. e.) the City of Four: one of which was Adam, that lies here among the Anakims.* For as the word *Arba* in Hebrew denotes *four*; so the word *Adam* denotes *man*. But that the former interpretation is the truest, is evident from Josh. xv. 13, 14. where we are expressly told, that Arba was the father of Anak, and that when Caleb made himself master of Hebron, he *drove from thence the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai.* As for the gigantic stature of the Anakims, so frequently taken notice of in Scripture, I shall speak of it in a more proper place.

Proceed we here to observe the antiquity of this city, which is set forth Num. xiii. 22. where we are told, that *it was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt; which Zoan, as it was the royal city of the Pharaohs, or ancient kings of Egypt, so it seems to have been boasted of by the Egyptians on account of its antiquity. Wherefore Moses, to set forth the great antiquity of Hebron, says, that it was built before Zoan.* Being not yet come to the division of the land of Canaan among the tribes of Israel, it will be proper to say no more of the situation of Hebron, than that it was seated in the hill-country in the southern part of Canaan, on the ridge of mountains, which run southward from Jerusalem.

This city, as it is famous in sacred story for Abraham's sojourning in the neighbourhood thereof, and buying

37.

The anti-
quity of
Hebron,
and its situ-
ation.

38.

What re-
markable

PART I. for ; and why named Hebron. there a burying-place for his family, (of which more by and by ;) so was it famous in after-ages for king David's keeping his court here for the first seven years of his reign, till he took Jerusalem. It is also supposed to have been the dwelling-place of Zacharias and Elizabeth, the parents of St. John the Baptist. This is certain, that it was one of the cities given to the Levites, and a city of refuge ; Josh. xxi. 13. And perhaps it took the name of Hebron, from Hebron one of the sons of Kohath, and grandson of Levi. It is indeed said, that Caleb gave it the name of Hebron, from a son of his of that name : but I am yet to seek whence it is known that Caleb had any such son : I do not find that the Scriptures make mention of any such.

39.
A bishop's
see.

When the Christians had conquered Palestine, it was made a bishop's see, as we are told by the writers of those times : and I am apt to think it was so, long before that, namely, in the more early ages of Christianity. For Socrates the ecclesiastical historian tells us of the emperor Theodosius the younger, that when the bishop of Chebron had ended his life at Constantinople, the emperor desired to have his hair-cloth cassock, which (although it was very foul and nasty) he wore instead of a cloke, believing he should thereby partake of something of the dead bishop's sanctity. Now what we write Hebron is always writ by the Greeks *Χεβρων*, *Chebron* ; and therefore the bishop of Chebron mentioned by Socrates might be the bishop of the city we are speaking of.

40.
Of the
plain of
Mamre ;
and first of
its name.

Having spoken of the city Hebron itself, we must now speak particularly of the plain of Mamre in the neighbourhood thereof, and wherein Abraham for some time dwelt, *building there an altar unto the Lord*, (Gen. xiii. 18.) as he did in other places where he resided, or made any considerable stay. As to the name of this plain or valley, it probably was so called from that Mamre, who is mentioned with those that went with Abraham, when he pursued after Chedorlaomer, and rescued his kinsman Lot ; and who probably was the possessor of the plain,

wherein Abraham sojourned. Nay, so great and considerable a person does this Mamre seem to have been, that from him likely the city of Hebron itself was called Mamre, as appears from Gen. xxxv. 27. where it is said that Jacob came unto Isaac his father, *unto Mamre, unto the city of Arba, which is Hebron*. Where, according to all the ancient versions, Mamre, the city of Arba, and Hebron, are all three equivalent terms, and the latter in order designed as exegetical or explanatory of the former. And the same is confirmed from Gen. xxiii. 19. where it is said, that *Abraham buried Sarah in the cave of the field of Machpelah, before Mamre: the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan*. Hence not only all the ancient versions, (as is before observed,) but Eusebius, and after him Jerom, do both of them, in their account of Mamre, tell us that it was the same as Hebron. And it is very likely that it might frequently, if not generally, be denoted under this name by the Hebrews, in respect of Mamre, Abraham's friend, till it took afterwards the name of Hebron.

As to the situation of the *plain of Mamre*, it is evident from the Scripture history, that it lay by Hebron; and it is not to be reasonably doubted, but that it is the very same which is called, Gen. xxxvii. 14. *the vale of Hebron*. We are told, that it is fifteen furlongs, *i. e.* near two miles from Hebron, southward; and that it is (or at least was formerly) a fertile and pleasant valley, which may be reasonably supposed from Abraham's making choice of it to sojourn in.

41.
The situation of the plain of Mamre.

It is remarkable in sacred history for Abraham's entertaining there three angels under an oak, which oak also became very famous in after-ages; insomuch that superstitious worship came to be performed there. This the great Constantine, esteemed the first Christian emperor of the Romans, put a stop to by a letter written to Eusebius, bishop of Cesarea in Palestine, to that purpose. Some will have the forementioned tree not to have been an oak, but a turpentine tree.

42.
Of the oak of Mamre.

As the altar abused here to superstition was, by the

PART I. order of Constantine the Great, pulled down and destroyed; so a church was built there by the orders of the same pious prince. There was also another church erected not far from the former, by Helena, the religious mother of Constantine, over the cave where Abraham and the other patriarchs were buried. And though the city Hebron is utterly ruined, as our worthy countryman and gentleman, Mr. George Sandys, informs us, yet the graves of the patriarchs are much visited by pilgrims.

43.
An oratory
or church
built there.

44.
A distinction to be
made, between what
God promised the
Israelites
for a possession,
and what for
dominion.

In Gen. xv. Moses relates, how God renewed his promise to Abraham, of giving the land of Canaan to his posterity for an inheritance, ver. 7. which promise God was pleased to confirm then with a sign and a vision, ver. 8—16. In this vision (as is probable) God not only repeated his promise of giving the land of Canaan *for an inheritance* to the seed of Abraham, but withal further promised to give unto his seed the *dominion* of a much larger tract; namely, of all the country, *from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates*; that is, the country of the *Kenites, and Kenizzites, and Kadmonites, and Rephaims*, as well as of the *Hittites, and Perizzites, and Amorites, and Canaanites, and Girgashites, and Jebusites*. This distinction between what God promised to give, and actually did give to the Israelites for a *possession*; and what he promised to give, and actually did give to them the *dominion* of, is of good use for the clearer understanding of the sacred history, and of God's veracity in making good his promises to the patriarchs; and is indeed no other, than what is nicely observed in the sacred writings themselves. For herein we read frequently of God's giving the *land of Canaan* for a^c *possession* to the seed of Abraham; but I do not remember the same is any where said of all the adjoining countries, which, though lying *out* of the borders of the land of Canaan, were yet under the *dominion* of the Israelites for some time. It is indeed said of some of these, viz. of the kingdom of Og king

^c Gen. xvii. 8. and xlviii. 4. Lev. xiv. 34.

of Bashan, and the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, on the east of Jordan; that *Moses gave them for a possession unto the Reubenites, and Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh*, Josh. xii. 6. Of the rest of the lands lying between the river of Egypt and the Euphrates, it is no where, I think, said of them, that God would give them to the Israelites for a *possession*; but only in general, that he would *give* them, (as in this place, Gen. xv. 18.) namely, so as that they should be tributary to the Israelites. This is more clearly expressed, Deut. xi. 24, 25. *Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours; from the wilderness and Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the uttermost sea, shall your coast be. There shall no man be able to stand before you; the Lord your God shall lay the fear and the dread of you upon all the land, &c.* By what is here said (ver. 25.) of the Lord's laying the *fear and dread* of the Israelites on the inhabitants of these parts, insomuch that they should not *be able to stand* before them, seems to be plainly denoted, in what sense *all* this large tract mentioned ver. 24. was to be the Israelites, namely, all as to *dominion*, though not as to *possession*. And agreeably to the extent of the *dominion* of the Israelites here specified, we are told, 1 Kings iv. 21. that *Solomon reigned over all kingdoms, from the river, unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt*. But though the bounds of the Israelitish *dominions* did for some time reach thus far; yet we find the bounds of the Israelitish *possessions* to be set out much narrower by Moses, Numb. xxxiv. 1—15. And here, ver. 2. the distinction I am speaking of is very plainly inculcated to the Israelites by God's command; *Command the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye come into the land of Canaan, (this is the land that shall fall unto you for an inheritance, even the land of Canaan, with the coasts thereof,) then your south quarter shall be, &c.* Where the words inserted by way of parenthesis, *viz. This is the land that shall fall unto you for an inheritance*, do plainly imply thus much, that what else

PART I. God should give unto them, he gave it them, not as part of their *inheritance*, but of their *dominions*.

45. The import of God's giving a and for a possession. The distinction I am establishing will, I think, be put beyond all dispute by one observation more, concerning the import of God's giving a country *for a possession*. For hereby is, I think, meant, God's giving to a people a *right* and *title* to the possession of the said country, so as that the former inhabitants have no longer any claim thereto; and though the people, to whom God thus gives it, may by their impiety provoke God to suffer them to be actually *dispossessed* of the said country, yet they still retain a divine right and title to the *repossessing* of the same, as soon as they return to their due obedience to God. Accordingly, during the captivity of the Jews in Babylonia, the land of Canaan is styled *their own land*; and God's putting an end to that captivity is all along expressed in Ezekiel, by God's causing them to *return into their own land*, Ezek. xxxiv. 13. and xxxvi. 24, &c. Whence may be reasonably inferred, that though God had put the Jews out of actual *possession* of the land of Canaan, by suffering them to be carried away captive; yet he had not thereby put them out of all *right* and *title* to the possession thereof; for if so, then it could not have been called any longer *their own land*.

46. The land of Canaan, in what sense given by God to the Jews for an everlasting possession. And perhaps this observation will afford us the best exposition of those texts, wherein God promised to Abraham, and the other patriarchs, to give to their seed the land of Canaan for an *everlasting possession*. For this will be literally true, if by God's giving the land of Canaan for an *everlasting possession*, be understood not as to the *perpetuity* of the *actual* possession of it, but as to the *perpetuity* of *right* and *title* to the said possession, upon performing the condition required of them, namely, obedience to the will of God, duly made known unto them. Agreeably hereto, it is, I think, an opinion not ill-grounded, and therefore generally received, that, upon the general conversion of the Jews to Christianity, they shall again hereafter (as formerly) be brought by the divine

Providence into that, which may be still called *their own land*, in respect of the divine right and title given them thereto, through all generations to come. To conclude this point, the import I assign to the scriptural expression of *giving a land for a possession*, cannot seem strange; since it is no other, than that wherein we use the like expression among us, of *giving one an estate*. For, if no limitation be expressed thereby, according to common acceptation is understood, not only giving one actual possession of the estate, but a perpetuity of right and title to the said possession.

Having largely shewn, in what sense the promise made by God, in Gen. xv. 18, &c. is to be understood, I come now to speak distinctly of the particulars therein contained. And first to begin with the two bounds here assigned, *from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates*. This last is sufficiently known, by what has been said already; we are therefore only to enquire, what river is here meant by the *river of Egypt*. That hereby is not to be understood the great river of Egypt, called the Nile, (as some have imagined,) may be reasonably enough inferred from this very text. For the Euphrates being here styled the *great river*, it may be reasonably supposed, that the other river here mentioned with it, is not a *great river*, but some *lesser river*; and consequently not the river Nile, there being no such disparity as to the greatness of the Nile and the Euphrates, (especially as to that part of the Euphrates, to which the dominion of the Israelites was to extend,) as that one should be styled the *great river*, when mentioned with or compared to the other. And the same will further appear from other places of Scripture, where mention is made of *the river of Egypt*. To instance in some of them, Moses speaking, Num. xxxiv. 5. of the south border of the land of Israel, says, that *it shall fetch a compass from Axmon unto the river of Egypt, and the goings out of it shall be at the sea*. Accordingly we read, Josh. xv. 4. that the south coast passed toward Axmon, and went out unto

47.
Of the *river of Egypt*, peculiarly so styled in Scripture.

PART I. *the river of Egypt, and the goings out of that coast were at the sea.* From the two places forecited it is evident, that the *river of Egypt* was a part of the *south border* of the land of Israel. But now it is well known, that the land of Israel, i. e. the land divided among the twelve tribes of Israel, did not reach to the river Nile. Therefore it evidently follows, that the *river of Egypt* so called in Scripture was a distinct river from the Nile; and was some lesser river that ran not far off from Gaza, a city in the south border of the land of Israel. And this is expressly confirmed, ver. 47. of this same 15th chapter of Joshua; where an enumeration being made of the cities belonging to the tribe of Judah, among the rest is mentioned *Gaza, with her towns and her villages, unto the river of Egypt.* Whence it may be clearly inferred, that the *river of Egypt* was not far from the city of Gaza.

48.
Of the Kenites.

The situation of the two boundaries of the Israelitical dominion being thus known, namely, of the river Euphrates, and the *river of Egypt*; we are next to enquire after the situation of the several people here mentioned, and whose countries should lie within either the *possession*, or else the *dominion* of the children of Israel. The first people here mentioned by Moses are the Kenites. Some, for want of observing the forementioned distinction, between the *possession* and the *dominion* promised to the Israelites, have thought that the Kenites were descendants of Canaan. But it is much more probable that they were of a different race. From 1 Sam. xv. 6. we may receive clear light as to the situation of them, and good light as to their descent. For Saul being sent by God's special command to destroy the Amalekites, we there read, that he *said unto the Kenites, Go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you with them: for ye shewed kindness to all the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt.* Now what is here said of the Kenites *shewing kindness to the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt*, is to be understood (as is observed in the margin of our Bible) of the kindness

shewn to them by the father-in-law of Moses, and his family, and people. But the father-in-law of Moses is expressly said to be^c, not only the priest of Midian, but also a Midianite himself; and so was descended of Midian or Madian, one of Abraham's sons by Keturah. So that the Kenites were probably a branch of the Midianites; which is the more probable, inasmuch as what is here said in Samuel, of the Kenites dwelling among the Amalekites, may be observed of the Midianites from other places of Scripture. For it is evident from several places of sacred writ, that the Midianites, as well as Ishmaelites and Amalekites, were some of those *mixed people*, that dwelt intermixed one with another, from Havilah unto Shur. Upon the whole therefore it may be rationally concluded, that by the Kenites are here to be understood a people of the north-west part of Arabia Petræa, from the south border of the land of Israel, to the Red sea; to which the Israelitish dominion should extend for some time.

We have not so much certainty, who the Kenizzites were. But they being mentioned by Moses next to the Kenites, and between these and the Kadmonites, this may be some argument to incline us to think, that they were also situated between the Kenites and the Kadmonites. And the same will be confirmed by this consideration, that since the people lying between the Kenites and Kadmonites were subject to the dominion of the Israelites, as well as the Kenites and Kadmonites themselves; therefore it is not likely that the sacred historian would pass them over without mentioning them; and if he mentioned them, then they must be denoted by this name of the Kenizzites. And that they are so denoted, is not improbable, if we observe, that one of the grandsons of Esau was named Kenaz; the plural whereof is Kenezim, i. e. Kenezites. Since therefore it is certain, that the Edomites were some time under the dominion of the Israelites, it is not unlikely, that they might be denoted in this place by the name of Kenezites.

49.
Of the Kenizzites.

^c Exod. xviii. 1. compared with Numb. x. 29.

PART I. The word Kadmonites denotes as much as Easterns, or

50. East-country people; so that it is an opinion probable
 Of the Kad- enough, that thereby are denoted all the people living on
 monites. the east of Jordan; whose countries were, in process of
 time, either possessed by the Israelites, as the kingdoms of
 Og and Sihon, or else were subdued by the Israelites, and
 for some time under their dominion, as the land of the
 Moabites, Amorites, &c.

51. Of the other people here mentioned, the Hittites, Pere-
 Of the Pere- zites, Rephaims, Amorites, Canaanites, Girgashites, and
 zites and Girgashites. Jebusites, I have spoken of them all already, except the
 Perezites and Rephaims. As to the Perezites, it is not to
 be doubted, but they were descendants of Canaan, and
 seated within the land of Canaan; but in what part it is
 not so easy to determine. Upon comparing all the several
 places of Scripture, where the families or nations of Ca-
 naan are mentioned, I find seven nations to be reckoned up
 in three places, (Deut. vii. 1. Josh. iii. 10. and xxiv. 11.)
 namely, the Canaanite, the Hittite, the Hivite, the Pere-
 zite, the Girgashite, the Amorite, and the Jebusite. And
 of these, I find but six mentioned in ten places; and in
 nine of these ten places, the nation of the seven before
 mentioned, which is omitted, is the Girgashite: in the
 other of the ten places, the Girgashite is mentioned, and
 the Hivite omitted. In one place there are but five men-
 tioned, the Canaanite and the Girgashite being omitted.
 What may be inferred from hence is this, that the Girga-
 shite was probably a very small nation; and, as such, is
 therefore most frequently, either wholly omitted, or else
 comprehended under some other name; and that likely,
 under the name of the Hivites, or else Perezites. It may
 be some motive to induce us to believe, that they may be
 comprehended under the Hivites, because that, whereas in
 nine places of ten the Girgashite is omitted, and the Hivite
 mentioned, in the tenth place the Girgashite is mentioned,
 and the Hivite omitted. To which may be added, that it
 is pretty clear, that the Hivites and Girgashites were
 neighbouring nations; forasmuch as the Hivites are ex-

pressly said in Scripture to inhabit the parts of Canaan adjoining to mount Lebanon or Libanus, and particularly the eastern part thereof about mount Hermon; and the Girgashites are probably supposed to have been seated about the sea of Galilee; since we read of the Gergesens inhabiting those parts in the times of the Gospel. If this be not sufficient to induce us to believe, that the Girgashites were frequently comprehended under the Hivites; there are other considerations, which tend to induce us to believe that they may be comprehended under the name of the Perezites. If we consult Gen. x. 15—18. where Moses does as it were professedly reckon up the several families, or sub-nations of Canaan; we there find no mention made of the Perezite. So that it may be probably inferred, that the name Perezite was not derived from any son of Canaan of that name, but from some circumstance relating to the situation, or way of living of some of Canaan's descendants. Since therefore it is evident from Scripture, that the Perezites lived in the mountainous and woody parts of the land of Canaan; and since the word פְּרִזִּים, *Peraxoth*, denotes in Hebrew, *villages*; hence it may be probably conjectured, that such of the Canaanites in general, that lived not in cities or towns well frequented, but in villages or places less frequented (as being situated in the woods and mountains,) were comprehended under the name of פְּרִזִּים, *Peraxim* or *Perezites*, i. e. *villagers* or *rustics*, of what particular nation soever they were.

Of the ten people mentioned Gen. xv. 19—21. there remain only the Rephaim to be spoken of. We find a people of the same name mentioned Gen. xiv. 5. As to the import of the name, I shall only observe here in general, that it is agreed by the learned in the Hebrew language, that it denotes men of a gigantic or extraordinary stature or strength. As to their situation, it is pretty clear from Scripture, particularly from Gen. xiv. 5. that some of them were situated on the east of Jordan, adjoining to the Zuzims and Emims. But since the Rephaims here mentioned are mentioned between the Hittites, Perezites,

52.
Of the Re-
phaim.

PART I. Amorites, &c. who lived within the land of Canaan, and so on the west of Jordan; for these reasons I am induced, by these Rephaims, rather to understand the inhabitants of the valley in the land of Canaan, lying between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, called the *valley of the Rephaim* or *Giants*, and mentioned in several places of Scripture, as Josh. xv. 8. and xvii. 16. From which two texts it is evident, that this valley lay near to Jerusalem, and that through or by it passed the boundary between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. I shall speak more of this valley hereafter in a more proper place.

53.
Of the well
Beer-lahai-
roi.

In Gen. xvi. Moses acquaints us, how Hagar (being dealt with hardly by her mistress Sarah, for that she despised her mistress on account of her being barren) fled into the wilderness, and there was found by the angel of the Lord, at a fountain in the way to Shur; which fountain or well was therefore called Beer-lahai-roi, i. e. the *well of him that lives and sees me*, and was situated between Kadesh and Bered. Now we have above observed, that Shur was the name of that part of Arabia Petræa which adjoins to Egypt and the Red sea. And Kadesh was a city lying on the edge of the land of Canaan, to the south of Hebron. So that this fountain or well was situated somewhere between Kadesh and Shur. The place Bered here mentioned, being no where else found in the Scriptures, will afford us no light as to the more particular situation of it. However, it is very probable, that it was not far from Gerar, (of which by and by,) since, whilst Abraham sojourned in these parts, we read, that Isaac came from the way of the well Lahai-roi, or Beer-lahai-roi; and also that, after Abraham's death, Isaac dwelt for some time by the same place, Gen. xxiv. 62. and xxv. 11.

54.
Of Gerar.

Moses having given us account, Gen. xvii. of the institution of Circumcision; and Gen. xviii. and xix. of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, (of which I have treated already,) he informs us, Gen. xx. of Abraham's removal from the parts about Hebron, more southward between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourning in Gerar. This

place is frequently mentioned in the history of Abraham and Isaac. It appears from Gen. x. 19. (where Moses marks out the four sides of the land of Canaan) that Gerar was seated in the angle, where the south and west sides of Canaan met. It may also be inferred from the said text, that it was not far from Gaza, of which I have spoken in my Geography of the New Testament, Part II. chap. ii. §. 6. It is evident from what is said of Gerar, in relation to the history of Abraham and Isaac, that it was a regal city, and the usual name of the kings thereof seems to have been Abimelech; as Pharaoh was the usual name of the kings of Egypt, in those more early times. The kings of Gerar were in all probability Philistines by extraction: for the kingdom of Gerar is expressly reckoned within the *land of the Philistines*, Gen. xxi. 32, 34.

During Abraham's sojourning in these parts, Isaac was born; who some time after being mocked by Ishmael, Hagar's son, at Sarah's motion, and upon God's approbation, Ishmael with his mother was sent away, and dwelt in the wilderness of Paran, adjoining to Kadesh already mentioned; and of which more will be said, when we come to speak of the travels of the Israelites through Arabia Petræa. 55.
Of the wilderness of Paran.

During the same time, Abraham and Abimelech made a covenant together, concerning a well which Abraham had digged: which well, from the oath mutually taken between the two forementioned persons, was called *Beer-sheba*, i. e. *the well of the oath*. Here Abraham planted a grove, and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God, Gen. xxi. 33. In process of time, there was a city or considerable town built here, which is taken notice of by Heathen writers, by the name of Berzimma or Bersabe. The greatest length of the land of Israel is frequently denoted in Scripture, by the distance from Beer-sheba in the south, to Dan in the north. Dr. Heylin tells us, that it was well fortified by the western Christians, when they were masters of the Holy Land, as being a border-town of good importance. 56.
Of Beersheba.

PART I.

57.
The land of
Moriah.

Whilst Abraham sojourned at Beersheba, it pleased God to make that signal trial of Abraham's obedience, by requiring him to go into the *land of Moriah*, and there to offer his only son Isaac, whom he loved, for a burnt-offering on one of the mountains, which God should tell him of, Gen. xxii. 2. From comparing this text with 2 Chron. iii. 1. it is, I think, generally received as an opinion not ill-grounded, that the Moriah to which Abraham was ordered to go, and on a mountain whereof he was to offer Isaac, was no other than the mount Moriah, whereon Solomon built the temple; and on one part whereof, namely, mount Calvary, our Saviour did afterwards actually offer himself up to God for the redemption of mankind. Which offering of our blessed Saviour, as it seems to have been designedly prefigured by the intentional offering of Isaac, (for in this sense may perhaps be well enough, if not best understood, what is said, Hebr. xi. 17.) so it might seem good to the divine wisdom to assign the same place, for the typical offering of Isaac; where in due time the antitype, our blessed Redeemer, was to be offered.

58.
Of the field
and cave of
Mach-pe-
lah.

In the next chapter, viz. Gen. xxiii. we are informed of the death of Sarah, at Kirjath-arba or Hebron; and of Abraham's buying the field of Ephron, which was in Mach-pelah, which was before Mamre, the field and the cave which was therein:—and how Abraham buried Sarah in the cave of the field of Mach-pelah, before Mamre. Now from what has been said above, concerning Mamre being another name for Hebron, and also of the adjacent plain of Mamre; it is easy to gather, whereabout was situated this field and cave in Mach-pelah. There seems however to be one particular worth our observation, namely, that here, and in other places of Scripture, Abraham is always related to buy this field and cave in Mach-pelah, of Ephron the Hittite, and in the presence of the children of Heth: but Gen. xiv. 13. the plain of Mamre, wherein Abraham dwelt, is said to be the plain of Mamre the Amorite. From this remark, in conjunction with what has been before observed, concerning the situation of the

Hittites and Amorites, in the parts about Hebron, may be inferred thus much; that perhaps we have here got some footsteps of the boundary between the Hittites and Amorites in this tract; forasmuch as we hence plainly learn, that the field of Ephron the Hittite did lie before Mamre or Hebron, which, as well as the adjacent plain, did belong to Mamre the Amorite. Where by the word *before*, may probably be denoted, to the west or south-west of Mamre, and that on a double account; namely, because it seems probable from the sacred history, that Abraham still dwelt at Beersheba, which lay south-west of Hebron; and also because it is plain from Scripture, that the Hittites dwelt on the west or south-west of Hebron.

After the death of Sarah, Abraham takes care for a suitable wife for his son Isaac. Whereupon he sends his chief servant into Aram-Naharaim or Mesopotamia, to the city of Nahor his brother, to take a wife from thence of his own kindred for Isaac. It is thought, that the city of Nahor here mentioned was the same with the city Haran or Charran; to which Abraham with his father Terah first removed from Ur of the Chaldees. But there are considerations of some weight to incline one to think, that by the city of Nahor may possibly be denoted Ur of the Chaldees. For when Terah left that place, we only read, that he took with him Abraham his son, and Lot his grandson of the male issue: and therefore it may be reasonably concluded, that Nahor his other son staid behind at Ur of the Chaldees. If therefore by the city of Nahor is to be understood Haran, then Nahor must remove thither some time after the removal of his father, though the Scripture is silent as to the matter. Indeed we read, Gen. xxvii. 43. that Laban, the brother of Rebecca, and grandson of Nahor, did live at Haran. And therefore upon the whole it is probable, that though at first, when Abraham with his father Terah removed, Nahor staid behind at Ur; yet afterwards, when his own family was grown up, he might leave his other sons at

59.
The city of
Nahor.

PART I. Ur; and he with his younger son, as it seems, Bethuel, the father of Laban and Rebecca, might remove to Haran.

60. In Gen. xxv. Moses informs us, that, after Sarah's death, Abraham took Keturah to wife, and had several children by her; and that he gave to Isaac all that he had, that is, his main estate; but unto the sons of his concubines he gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, while he himself yet lived, eastward, unto the east-country. After which the sacred historian concludes the history of Abraham, with telling us at what age he died, namely, at the age of *an hundred threescore and fifteen years*; and that he *was buried by his sons Isaac and Ishmael in the cave of Mach-pelah, in the field of Ephron, the son of Zohar the Hittite, which is before Mamre; the field which Abraham purchased of the sons of Heth: there was Abraham buried, and Sarah his wife, Gen. xxv. 1—10.*

61. Having gone through the history of the sojourning of Abraham, I shall proceed next to the history of the sojourning of his son Isaac; and then I shall speak of the dwellings of his other sons, Ishmael by Hagar, and the rest by Keturah; and after that of the places where the two sons of Lot, Moab and Ammon, settled themselves.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Sojourning of Isaac.

HAVING finished the history of Abraham, the sacred historian proceeds to that of Isaac; who, he tells us, continued to dwell (after his father's death, as he had done before) by Beer-lahai-roi above mentioned. Then giving a short account of the sons of Ishmael, the sacred historian gives us next an account of the birth of Esau and Jacob, who therefore were in all probability born at Beer-lahai-roi. A famine arising, *Isaac went to Abimelech king of the Philistines, unto Gerar, and dwelt at Gerar*, Gen. xxvi. 1, 6. Hence he removed *into the valley of Gerar, and, pitching his tent, dwelt there; and digged again the wells of water which had been digged in the days of his father; (for the Philistines had stopped them after the death of his father:)* and he called their names after the names that his father had called them, ver. 17, 18. Among these wells was Beersheba, i. e. *the well of the oath*; where was a like oath taken between Isaac and Abimelech, the then king of Gerar, as had been before between Abraham and the Abimelech that then reigned at Gerar. Whence the city, built here in succeeding times, took the name of Beersheba, as we are expressly told, Gen. xxvi. 33. The sacred historian having just taken notice of Esau's taking two of the daughters of Heth, or Hittite women, to be his wives, acquaints us next with the circumstances of Jacob's getting the blessing of his father Isaac away from Esau, and with Jacob's being sent hereupon to Padan-aram, to Bethuel his mother's brother, then dwelling at Haran; and with his staying there fourteen years and upwards, and then returning to his father Isaac, who at that time sojourned at Mamre near Hebron, where Abraham had formerly sojourned. After which Moses presently shuts up the history of Isaac, with an account of his age, and

1.
A short narrative of Isaac's sojourning; no place being mentioned by Moses, but what is mentioned before.

PART I. death, and burial by his two sons, Esau and Jacob, Gen. xxvii—xxxv. ver. 29. So that there being no places mentioned in the history properly relating to the sojourning of Isaac, but what has been mentioned before, and that chiefly in the history of Abraham, there is no occasion to say any more of them here.

CHAP. X.

Of the Dwellings of the Ishmaelites.

HAVING spoken of the sojourning of Isaac, the only son of Abraham by Sarah, and the heir not only of his temporal estate, but also of (what was infinitely better) the spiritual or evangelical blessing, promised by God to Abraham and his seed; I judge it convenient to speak next of the dwellings of the other sons of Abraham, and so begin with Ishmael, Abraham's son by Hagar, as being the eldest. Now he himself dwelt in the wilderness of Paran, as we are told, Gen. xxi. 21. where taking a wife out of the land of Egypt, he became the father of twelve sons; whose posterity (as we are expressly informed, Gen. xxv. 18.) *dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest towards Assyria*, that is, in several parts of Arabia Petræa; whereof the western part towards Egypt is in Scripture called Shur; the eastern part toward the Persian gulf, Havilah, as has been above observed. Accordingly of the twelve sons of Ishmael, here reckoned up by Moses, some of them are expressly mentioned in Scripture, as inhabiting these parts; and plain footsteps of their names are to be found in Heathen writers, among the inhabitants of this tract.

Thus the descendants of the first-born of Ishmael, called Nebaioth, are mentioned together with the descendants of his second son Kedar, by the prophet Isaiah, ch. lx. ver. 7. The descendants of Nebaioth are the people called Nabathæi by Heathen writers; and they seem to have been of better note among the Greeks and Latins, than the rest; forasmuch as they are more frequently mentioned by their writers, whether historians or poets.

But among the sacred writers, there is more frequent mention made of Kedar. The prophet Isaiah, speaking of the *burden of Arabia*, expresses it among other things, by

1.
The situation of the Ishmaelites.

2.
Of Nebaioth, the first-born of Ishmael.

3.
Of Kedar.

PART I. the *fall of the glory of Kedar*, Isaiah xxi. 16. These people are also mentioned by Pliny, under the name of Cedreni or Cedareni, and are placed by him next to the Nabatheans.

4. In the place of Isaiah last cited, under the burden of
Of Tema. Arabia, there is also mention made of the *inhabitants of the land of Tema*; which Tema is reckoned also by Moses among the sons of Ishmael. It is thought by some, that Eliphaz the Temanite, mentioned in the book of Job, was prince of this country; but it seems more probable, that he was a descendant of Esau, by Teman, of whom hereafter. There is a city of this name, mentioned by Ptolemy; and likely the same, which is called Tamna by Strabo.

5. Again, in the same chapter of Isaiah, ver. 11. we have
Of Dumah. the burden of Dumah; whereby is probably denoted the nation or family of Dumah, another of Ishmael's sons, mentioned by Moses. Stephanus the geographer mentions a city in Arabia, called Dumatha, from this Duma, as is likely.

6. As for Jetur and Nephish, two other sons of Ishmael,
Of Jetur. we read, 1 Chron. v. 19. that the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, made war with them, and overcame them, and *dwelt in their stead* (i. e. in their country) *until the captivity*, ver. 22. Whereby is confirmed the opinion of Iturea, a country mentioned by St. Luke, being so called from Jetur, the son of Ishmael.

7. The remaining sons of Ishmael we have no mention of,
Of the other sons of Ishmael. as to their particular habitation, in the Scripture; unless we will suppose the city and wilderness of Kedemoth (Deut. ii. 26.) to have taken its name from Kedemah, the last of the twelve sons mentioned by Moses.

8. It remains only to observe, that as these people were
The Ishmaelites, otherwise called Hagarens. from their father denominated by the common name of Ishmaelites; so from the mother of Ishmael, Hagar, they were also denominated Hagarens or Hagarites. And under this last name they are mentioned even by Heathen

writers, some calling them Agræi, others Agareni. But though these names may be used promiscuously, yet there seems to have been sometimes a distinction made between them. Thus in Psalm lxxxiii. 6. among the enemies of the Israelites, there are reckoned in the former part of the verse, the Edomites and Ishmaelites; and in the latter part of the same verse, the Moabites and Hagarens. Now had the Ishmaelites and Hagarens always denoted exactly the same, there would have been no occasion to have mentioned both words. And therefore it seems probable, that by the Hagarens were sometimes denoted, some *particular* Ishmaelites. One might suppose them to be those that dwelt about mount Sina, otherwise called Hagar, this word in the Arabian language signifying *a rock*; and being by the Arabs peculiarly applied to mount Sina, as a proper name. But the Ishmaelites being joined by the Psalmist to the Edomites, and the Hagarens to the Moabites, thwarts the forementioned opinion, and requires us rather to look on the Hagarens to be such of the Ishmaelites as were seated nearest to Moab; especially if we add hereunto what is said I Chron. v. 18, 19. *The sons of Reuben, and the Gadites—made war with the Hagarites, &c.* To conclude with the Ishmaelites: Certain it is, that the Arabians do to this very day value themselves upon their being descended from Ishmael.

PART I.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Dwellings of Abraham's Children, by Keturah.

1.
The east
country,
Gen. xxv.
6. what.

PROCEED we now to the children of Abraham by Keturah, reckoned up, Gen. xxv. 1—4. And as to their first settlement in general, the sacred history tells us, that Abraham giving them gifts, sent them away (while he yet lived) *eastward*, into the *east country*, i. e. into the parts of Arabia lying eastward. And accordingly here we shall find them, that are mentioned in the sequel of the sacred history, or by Heathen writers.

2.
Of Midian.

Among the sons of Abraham by Keturah, the principal in the Scripture-history, are the descendants of Midian, or the Midianites. It is agreed, that these (at least chiefly) settled themselves to the south-east of the Salt sea, adjoining to the Moabites. Hence, whilst the Israelites lay encamped at Shittim, we read, Num. xxv. 1—6. that they committed whoredom with the daughters of Moab, and also one of them with a Midianitish woman. Hence also we find Moab and Midian mentioned together as neighbouring people, Num. xxii. 4. We do indeed read of the *land of Midian*, lying in the neighbourhood of mount Sinai; wherein Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, lived, Exod. ii. 15, &c. And accordingly we find a city called Madana, placed in these parts by Heathen writers, near the Red sea. But this is not to be understood of the first settlement of Midian; but that in process of time, as his descendants increased, so they spread themselves further and further in the adjacent parts, where they found room; and so at length spread themselves as far as to that tract by the Red sea, where Jethro lived. And indeed it is probable, that *the land of Midian*, wherein Jethro lived, was not distinct or quite separated from the first settlement of *Midian*; but lay so as to be contiguous, and so to be properly denoted, together with the other, under the one

common name of the *land of Midian*; which may be better conceived by the map hereunto belonging, than by words. CHAP.
XI.

Another of the sons of Abraham by Keturah, was Jokshan; who had two sons, Sheba and Dedan. Now among the descendants of Cush, mentioned Gen. x. 7. we find two exactly of the same names. The not observing hereof has occasioned some confusion in writers, as to the assigning of the first settlements of these people. We have above observed, that Sheba and Dedan, the descendants of Cush, settled themselves in the eastern part of Arabia Felix, near to their father Raamah. And indeed it is easy to suppose that these, having all Arabia then before them, would choose the most fruitful and pleasant parts thereof to dwell in. But Sheba and Dedan, the descendants of Abraham, were to settle where they could find room. And therefore, since we are expressly told, that their settlement was *eastward, in the east country*, i. e. in the east parts of Arabia; and since we find, both in the history of Job, mention made of Sabeans, who most probably lived in these eastern parts, and also in Heathen writers, a people of Arabia Deserta, called Sabæ or Sabæi; it may reasonably be concluded, that these were the offspring of Sheba, the descendant of Abraham. 3.
Of Sheba,
the son of
Abraham,
by Ketu-
rah.

In like manner, whereas in the Scripture there is frequent mention made of Dedan; whenever the circumstances of the sacred story do not agree to the habitation of Dedan, the descendant of Cush, then they are reasonably to be understood of the habitation of Dedan, the descendant of Abraham. And in this last sense, it seems proper to understand Dedan or Dedanim, in Isai. xxi. 13. and Jer. xxv. 23. and xlix. 8. because in these places there is mention made of other people, or parts of Arabia, too remote from Dedan in Arabia Felix, to be so joined together. 4.
Of Dedan,
the son of
Abraham,
by Ketu-
rah.

PART I.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Dwellings of the Descendants of Lot, the Moabites and Ammonites.

1.
Lot's two
sons, Moab
and Ben-
ammi.

HAVING shewn the habitations of the descendants of Abraham, I go on now to speak of the habitations of the two sons of Lot, Moab and Ammon. It has been above observed, that, at the destruction of Sodom and the neighbouring cities, Zoar was spared at the request of Lot, who had leave given him to fly thither for safety. But we learn, Gen. xix. 30. that some time after *Lot went up out of Zoar, and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him; for he feared to dwell in Zoar: and he dwelt in a cave, he and his two daughters.* And here he had two sons born to him, Moab the first-born, and Ben-ammi the younger, the father of Ammon, ver. 37, 38. Now when these were grown up, they settled themselves in the adjacent countries, depopulated by the arms of Chedorlaomer and his confederates, in the war above mentioned.

2.
Situation of
Moab.

The first-born, Moab, settled himself in the parts adjoining eastward to the Salt sea, or *Lacus Asphaltites*, and in the neighbouring tract on the river Jordan, eastward. For we plainly learn that great part of the kingdom of Sihon, king of the Amorites, did formerly belong to the Moabites, Num. xxi. 26.

3.
Situation of
the Am-
monites.

The younger son, the father of the Ammonites, seated himself in the parts adjoining to Moab, northward and eastward. For it is evident from Scripture, that the Ammonites were formerly possessed of the parts on the east of Jordan, about the river Jabbok, or of the northern part of that which was afterwards the kingdom of Sihon. Compare Num. xxi. 13. Josh. xiii. 25. and Judg. xi. 13—23.

4.
A general
observa-
tion in re-
ference to

I insist no longer on the description of these countries here, because it will be requisite to speak of them again hereafter, when we describe the course of the travels of

the Israelites out of Egypt, into the land of Canaan. CHAP. XII.
 However, I cannot omit taking notice here in general of the settle-
 the dispensation of divine Providence, in making room for, ments of
 and assigning the first settlements of the several descendants the de-
 of Abraham, and also of his nephew Lot. The land of scendants
 Canaan was in due time to be the possession of the Israel- of Abra-
 ites, descended from Abraham by his son Isaac, and ham and
 grandson Jacob, otherwise called Israel. To the south of Lot.
 Canaan settled Ishmael, in the wilderness of Paran, to the
 west of mount Seir; which was to be the possession of
 Esau, the brother of Jacob. To the east of mount Seir did
 the Midianites seat themselves, and the other sons of
 Abraham by Keturah. To the north of these did the two
 sons of Lot, Moab and Ben-ammi the father of the Am-
 monites, fix their habitations. And it is remarkable, that
 Providence made room for these settlements of the descend-
 ants of Abraham (except the settlements of the Israel-
 ites) by the great slaughter of the inhabitants of these
 parts, made by Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and his con-
 federates; who likely carried away also a great number
 of them captive. And that we might be informed of the
 hand of Providence herein, seems to be one end of Moses's
 giving an account of the conquest obtained by Chedorlaom-
 er over the former inhabitants of these several coun-
 tries; namely, of the Rephaims, Zuzims, Emims, Horites,
 and Amalekites; as we read Gen. xiv. 5—7.

PART I.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Land of Edom, or Dwelling of Esau.

1.
Esau settles
in mount
Seir.

HAVING given an account of the sojourning of Isaac, and of the settlements thereabout made by the other sons of Abraham, and also by the two sons of Lot; I proceed now to Esau and Jacob, the two sons of Isaac, and so grandsons of Abraham. And I shall speak first of the dwelling of Esau, the elder brother; though not so much for this reason, as because he and his family were first settled in a fixed habitation; whereas Jacob and his children were only sojourners for some ages after, either in the land of Canaan, or in Egypt, or in Arabia. The reason of Esau's separating so soon from his brother Jacob, mentioned by the sacred historian, is this; that *their riches were more than that they might dwell together; and the land wherein they were strangers* (i. e. the land of Canaan) *could not bear them, because of their cattle.* Therefore *Esau went from the face of his brother Jacob, and dwelt in mount Seir,* Gen. xxxvi. 6—9.

2.
The Horims the
former in-
habitants of
this tract.

The former inhabitants of this mountainous tract were the Horims, or Horites, the descendants, as is likely, of one Hor, or Hori. And it is probable, that from him the mountain was formerly called mount Hor. For we read of a mountain of this name, by the coasts of Edom, on which Aaron died, Num. xx. 22—28. It is therefore likely, that the whole tract was formerly called mount Hor; since we find, that the inhabitants of all the said mountainous tract were formerly called Horites. *The Horims also dwelt in Seir beforetime; but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead,* Deut. ii. 12. From which place it seems plain, that though Chedorlaomer king of Elam had considerably depopulated this country; yet the remainders of the inhabitants did at first oppose

Esau's settling among them, till he forced them to submit to him. CHAP.
XIII.

Since also the same text tells us, that the *children of Esau succeeded the Horites*; there arises a difficulty, how to account for this mountainous country of the Horites being denominated mount Seir, or the land of Seir. From the mention Moses makes (Gen. xxxvi. 20, &c.) of the children of Seir the Horite, it seems probable, that as the country itself, as well as the inhabitants thereof, did take its most ancient name from Hor or Hori, (a name, which we find preserved among the children of Seir, ver. 22.) so in after-ages, but some time before Esau's settling there, it took the name of Seir, from a considerable person of that name among the Horites; whose descendants Moses gives us an account of in the latter part of the same chapter, where he gives us an account of the descendants of Esau, as being the principal persons of the Horites, at the time of Esau's settling in that tract. Add hereto, that though mount Hor might primarily denote the same as mount Seir did afterwards; yet this last name obtaining, the former was laid aside in general, and only retained to denote that part of this mountainous tract, which is distinctly styled mount Hor, Num. xx.

As to the situation of this country, it lay on the south of the Salt or Dead sea; extending itself from this sea to the Red sea, or Arabian gulf. For this is no other than what we plainly learn from 1 Kings ix. 26. *And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red sea, in the land of Edom*: where we see it plainly asserted, that Ezion-geber was both *on the shore of the Red sea*, and also *in the land of Edom*; and consequently, that the Red sea did come up to the land of Edom. And from hence is to be deduced the true reason of the Arabian gulf's coming to have the name of the Red sea, this, if rightly understood, denoting the same as the sea of Edom, or Idumean sea. For as this country was called the land of Edom from Esau, who, for selling his birthright for some red pottage, was nick-named Edom,

3.

Mount
Seir,
whence so
named.

4.

Situation of
the land of
Edom, and
why so
called.

PART I. that is, in the Hebrew tongue, *red*; so from the country, as is usual, the adjoining sea took the name of the sea of Edom, or Idumean sea. This some of the Greeks, in allusion to the signification of the Hebrew word *Edom*, rendered the *Erythrean sea*; which word signifying *red* in their language, the true original of the name in process of time being forgot, the latter Greeks thought this sea to have been so named from its being of a *red* colour; and so it came to be commonly called the *Red sea*. But of this more fully in another place.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Sojourning of Jacob.

WE are now to proceed to the sojourning of Jacob, the younger son of Isaac. He being sent by his parents to Haran, in Padan-aram, or Mesopotamia, in his way from Beersheba thither, *lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set: and he took of the stones of that place, and put them for his pillows, and lay down in that place to sleep.* In which sleep he had a vision, wherein, among other promises, God was pleased to renew to him that signal and evangelical promise, which he had before made to Abraham and Isaac, namely, that *in his seed should all the families of the earth be blessed; i. e. that of him should be descended the Messias, or Saviour of the world.* Hereupon Jacob, *when he awaked out of his sleep, said, Surely the Lord is in this place:—How dreadful is this place! This is none other but the house of God.—And he called the name of that place Bethel, i. e. the house of God.* Hence the adjoining city, which was at first called Luz, came afterwards to be called by the Israelites, and so in the sacred history, Bethel. The taking of this city by the children of Joseph is related, Judges i. 22—25. This same city was made choice of by Jero-boam, for setting up one of his *golden calves*; whereupon the prophet Hosea, alluding to the name given it by Jacob, calls it Beth-aven instead of Bethel, i. e. *the house of vanity or idolatry*, instead of the *house of God*, Hos. iv. 15. and x. 5. It, being within the lot of Ephraim the son of Joseph, belonged to the kingdom of Israel, after the ten tribes revolted from the house of David; and lay in the southern border of that kingdom, not far from Jerusalem, northwards. It was taken from the kingdom of Israel, by Ahijah king of Judah, and after that accounted as a part of the kingdom of Judah.

1.
Of Bethel.

- PART I. Bethel is the only particular place, mentioned in the account we have of Jacob's journey from Beersheba to Haran in Mesopotamia; which is the country denoted, Gen. xxix. 1. by the *land of the people of the East*.
2. Land of the people of the East, Gen. xxix. 1. what. After several years stay at Haran, Jacob being ill used by his uncle and father-in-law Laban, takes an opportunity to *steal away unawares to Laban*, and so *passing over the river*, (i. e. Euphrates,) makes for Canaan. Laban, as soon as he came to understand that Jacob was gone, followed after him, and overtook him. But Laban being warned by God, not to do any hurt to Jacob, upon their meeting, they made a covenant one with another; and, in witness thereof, they *took stones and made an heap*; and, in token of mutual friendship, *they did eat there* one with another *upon the heap*. Wherefore the place was named Galeed, i. e. *the heap of witness*: and also Mizpah, i. e. a *beacon or watch-tower*; forasmuch as Laban said, *The Lord watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another. If thou shalt afflict my daughters, or if thou shalt take other wives beside my daughters, no man is with us: see, God is witness betwixt me and thee*, Gen. xxxi. 20, &c. That this was done *in a mount*, we are expressly told, ver. 54. And, from the name given to the *heap of stones* before mentioned, the whole mount or mountainous tract hereabouts was in after-times called Galeed, or Gilead, by the Israelites. It lies on the east of the sea of Galilee, being part of the ridge of mountains, running from mount Lebanon, southwards, on the east of the Holy Land; and it included the mountainous region, called in the New Testament, *Trachonitis*.
3. Of Gilead.
4. Of Mizpah. From the other name given to the foresaid *heap of stones*, the city or town of Mizpah (mentioned in Scripture, and lying in this tract, probably near the place where the heap of stones was set up) took its name. Hence we find it among the cities, pertaining to the half tribe of Manasseh, that settled in these parts. Here Jephtha resided, but in after-times it was taken by the Ammonites; in

whose hands it was, when it was burnt, and utterly destroyed by Judas Maccabeus.

CHAP.
XIV.

Laban and Jacob parting, the former returned into Mesopotamia, the latter continued his journey to cross over the river Jordan, in order to come into Canaan. Being gone some way, the angels of God met him. And when Jacob saw them, he said, *This is God's host*; and he called the name of that place, Mahanaim, i. e. *two hosts* or *camp*s. For it is probably supposed, that the angels might appear to him, as distinguished into *two armies*, the better to defend him against his enemies on all sides. Hence the city near this place was afterwards denoted, among the Israelites, by the name of Mahanaim. It was seated between mount Gilead and the river Jabbok, not far from this latter. By this were the confines of the tribe of Gad, and half tribe of Manasseh, that was on the east of Jordan. It was a place of great strength, and therefore seems to be made choice of by Abner, for the seat-royal of Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, during the war between him and David. And for the like reason, it seems to have been made choice of for the retiring place of David, during the rebellion of his son Absalom.

5.
Of Mahanaim.

Jacob passing on forward, comes to the brook Jabbok, which is by all agreed to run from the adjacent mountains of Gilead; but some make it run into the sea of Galilee, others into the river Jordan, below or south of that sea.

6.
Of the brook Jabbok.

Jacob having sent his wife and children, and all that he had, over the brook, was left alone on the other or north side of the brook. And here it pleased God to appear to him, and to give him the name of Israel, together with a blessing; whence Jacob called the name of the place, Peniel or Penuel, i. e. the *face of God*, because he had there seen *God face to face*. Hence the adjoining town was afterwards denoted among the Israelites by the name of Penuel; which, as is evident from the circum-

7.
Of Penuel.

PART I. stances of this passage of Jacob, must stand upon or very near the brook Jabbok.

8. By God, who appeared to the Patriarchs, is to be understood, God the Son. It may be of good use to observe here once for all, that by God, who is here, and in other places of Scripture, said to appear to the Patriarchs and other holy men, during the times of the history of (what is commonly comprehended under the name of) the Old Testament, is to be understood, according to the general doctrine of the primitive Fathers of the Christian Church, *God the Son*. The persons, whom I denote by the *primitive Fathers of the Christian Church*, were such as lived in the very age next to the Apostles, and some of whom actually conversed, and were instructed by such, as had been disciples of the Apostles themselves. And therefore the said Fathers being all of them persons of integrity, and some of them such as suffered martyrdom for the sake of truth; it cannot be reasonably supposed, that they would go to impose forged notions of their own upon posterity, but did only deliver down to others, what they had received themselves, as the undoubted doctrine of the Apostles, and especially of St. John the Evangelist and beloved disciple of Christ. Whence it appears, how derogatory to our blessed Redeemer, how repugnant to the doctrine of the primitive Christian Church, and consequently how much to be detested by all true Christians, is the tenet of the Socinians or Unitarians, or whoever else deny Christ to be *very God of very God*.

9. Of Succoth. But to return to Jacob. From Penuel, he *journeyed to Succoth, and built him an house, and made booths for his cattle: therefore the name of the adjoining place or city was called afterwards in the sacred history, Succoth, i. e. Booths*. It was seated not far from the river Jordan.

10. Of Ephrath. Leaving after some time Succoth, Jacob passed over the river Jordan, and *came to Shalem, a city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, and which is frequently denoted by the name of Shechem alone*. Here he bought

a parcel of ground, of which we have spoken before. Hence by God's appointment he went to Bethel, where God again appears unto him. Thence he journeyed still southward, and *when there was but a little way to come to Ephrath, Rachel fell into travail, and had hard labour*, of which she died, being first delivered of her younger son Benjamin. Hereupon *she was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem. And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave.* The text here expressly tells us, that this Ephrath (or, as it is sometimes called, Ephratah) was the same as Bethlehem, famous for being the birth-place of David, but more famous for being the birth-place of the son of David according to the flesh, our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. On which account I have spoken of it in my Geography of the New Testament, Part I. chap. ii. §. 3.

CHAP.
XIV.

I have also observed in the same chapter, §. 6. that among the remarkable places shewn now-a-days to strangers, in the road from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, the nearest to Bethlehem, is Rachel's tomb. Concerning which the reverend and ingenious Mr. Maundrell observes, that though this may probably be the true place of her interment, yet the present monument cannot be that which Jacob erected, it plainly appearing to be a modern and Turkish structure. That the pillar or monument erected by Jacob was standing to the days of Moses, we learn from this chapter of Genesis, ver. 20. There is also mention made of Rachel's sepulchre in 1 Sam. x. 2. But whether the pillar or monument was then standing cannot be inferred from what is there said of it.

11.

Of Rachel's
monu-
ment.

After this, the sacred history tells us, that *Israel journeyed, and spread his tent beyond the tower of Edar.* Where, by the tower of Edar, some understand the field near Bethlehem, where those shepherds were keeping their flock, to whom the angels appeared, and gave information of the birth of our Saviour. And among others, one reason that inclines them so to understand it,

12.

Of the tow-
er of Edar.

PART I. is, because the word Eder, or Edar, does in the Hebrew tongue denote a *flock*: whence the same, which is here rendered the *tower of Edar*, is in Micah iv. 8. rendered the *tower of the flock*. But from this last text others suppose, that by the tower of Edar is to be understood some place near Jerusalem; forasmuch as the tower of Edar is here spoken of by the Prophet, as being *the strong hold of the daughter of Sion*.

13. From hence, *Jacob went unto Isaac his father, unto Mamre, unto Hebron*; where after some time Isaac dying, was buried by his two sons, Esau and Jacob; the former of which returning unto mount Seir, the place of his habitation, the other, Jacob, continued in Mamre, where Isaac before sojourned. For the plain of Mamre was either the same with, or else a part of, the vale of Hebron; from whence we read, Gen. xxxvii. 14. that Jacob sent his son Joseph, in order to see how his brethren did, that were gone to *feed their father's flock in Shechem*, probably in the parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the Sichemites.

14. Joseph being come thither, understands that his brethren were gone to Dothan. Whereupon he went after them, and found them at Dothan, Gen. xxxvii. 17. This place was seated about twelve miles to the north of the city of Samaria, as Eusebius informs us. And in the neighbourhood hereof it was that Joseph was sold by his brethren to some Ishmaelites and Midianites, that came along from Gilead, being going to carry down spice, and balm, and myrrh into Egypt; who thereupon took Joseph along with them into Egypt, and sold him there to Potiphar, captain of the guard to Pharaoh.

15. In the next chapter, viz. Gen. xxxviii. we have notice taken of some transactions of Judah, the son of Jacob; in the story whereof there is mention made of Hirah, the Adullamite, and a place called Chezib, and another place called Timnath, v. 1, 5, 12. Hirah, here called the Adullamite, was probably an inhabitant of Adullam, a town

to the west of Hebron, and mentioned frequently in the history of David's flight from Saul.

CHAP.
XIV.

Chezib is only mentioned in this passage of the sacred history; it is said by Eusebius and Jerom to have been situated near to Adullam, and to be then uninhabited.

16.
Of Chezib.

The Timnath, whither Judah went up to his sheep-shearers, is in all probability that mentioned as lying in the border of the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 10. and allotted to the tribe of Dan, Josh. xix. 43. and mentioned in the story of Sampson.

17.
Of Timnath.

The following chapters of Genesis are taken up in relating the various circumstances which befel Joseph in Egypt; how at length he came to be promoted there to the highest degree of honour and power next to the king; and how he sent for his father Jacob, and all his brethren, and their families, out of Canaan, and settled them in the part of Egypt, called the land of Goshen. This is also called the land of Rameses, Gen. xlvii. 11. And the Seventy Interpreters render Goshen by Ἡρώων πόλις, *Heroum urbs*, the same which by some writers is simply called *Heroum*, and is, by the consent of ancient Geographers, placed in the eastern part of Egypt, not far from the Arabian gulf. So that from hence it may be well inferred, that the land of Goshen was situated in the easterly part of Egypt, betwixt the river Nile and the town called Heroum; and consequently that therein stood the city Rameses.

18.
Of the land of Goshen, and Rameses.

Within the same country, or near it, stood the city On, of which Joseph's father-in-law was priest, and which was called by the Greeks Heliopolis, *the city of the Sun*. And agreeably hereto it is thought to be the same with Ircheresh, mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, chap. xix. ver. 18. which is indeed rendered in our translation, *the city of Destruction*, but may be rendered (as is observed in the margin of our Bible) *the city of the Sun*.

19.
Of the city On.

Jacob, upon his death-bed, charged his sons to bury him, when dead, *with his fathers, in the cave of Mach-*

20.
Of Atad, and Abelmizraim.

PART I. *pelah; for there, says he, they buried Abraham, and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac, and Rebecca his wife; and there I buried Leah, Gen. xlix. 31. Accordingly Joseph, accompanied not only with his own brethren, but also the principal persons among the Egyptians, attended his father's corpse to the burying-place bought by Abraham, and so belonging to his family. And when they came to the threshing-floor of Atad, they mourned with a great and very sore lamentation; Joseph making there a mourning for his father seven days. Hence the Canaanites called the place Abel-mizraim, i. e. the mourning of the Egyptians; forasmuch as they looked upon the whole company, by reason of their coming out of Egypt, as Egyptians. Where this threshing-floor of Atad or Abel-mizraim lay, is not certain from Scripture; but it is probable, that it was not far from the place where Jacob was buried, and so not far from Hebron.*

21. But though the particular situation of this place cannot be inferred from what the sacred history says of it; yet from thence may be well inferred whereabouts it was that Moses penned his sacred history. For we are told, Gen. l. 10, 11. that the threshing-floor of Atad was *beyond Jordan*; and likewise, ver. 11. that Abel-mizraim was *beyond Jordan*. Now, since it is absurd to suppose (as some do notwithstanding) that the corpse of Jacob was carried into the cave of Mach-pelah, such a round-about way as the Israelites went afterwards, for their sin of unbelief, into the land of Canaan, namely, through Arabia Petræa, quite to the eastern side of the river Jordan; it remains to suppose, that these places are said to be *beyond Jordan*, (not in respect of Egypt, whence Jacob's corpse was brought, but) in respect of the place where Moses was, when he wrote his history; which consequently was in the country on the east of Jordan. Nor are there wanting other considerations to confirm this opinion. Now it being supposed, that Moses, when he wrote this historical account, was on the east of Jordan; then it clearly follows, that when he says, that the threshing-floor of Atad, or Abel-mizraim,

What is to be understood by *beyond Jordan*, Gen. l. 10, 11. where Moses probably penned his history.

lay *beyond Jordan*, thereby is to be understood, that they CHAP.
lay on the west of Jordan; namely, not far from Hebron, XIV.
as has been before observed.

And thus I have gone through the Geographical part 22.
of the first book of Moses's history, called Genesis; with Conclu-
sion.
which I shall conclude this first Part.

the second Jordan thereby is to be understood, that they
lay on the west of Jordan: namely, not far from Jericho
as indicated before observed.

And then I have gone through the Greek edition part
of the first book of Moses, which I shall conclude this part
with.

A
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF SUCH

REMARKABLE PARTICULARS

AS ARE CONTAINED IN

THE BOOK OF GENESIS;

And the Times whereof are either in the said Book expressly mentioned, or else are plainly deducible from what is mentioned therein.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF 2271

REMARKABLE PARTICULARS

AS FAR AS EXTENDS

THE BOOK OF GENESIS

And the Table inserted, or rather in the said book, especially
mentioned, or else not clearly denoted from what is
mentioned therein.

OF

THE FOLLOWING TABLE.

IT being a method long since received among us Christians, to reckon our years from the *nativity* or *birth* of CHRIST, and consequently the number of years *from* the birth of Christ, according to the common computation, being well known among us; hence nothing can give us a clearer notion of the time, wherein happened the occurrences related in the history of the Old Testament, than acquainting us, how many years *before* the birth of Christ the same happened. For this reason, to the *years of the world* set down in the following table, I have adjoined also the number of *years before Christ*, respectively answering thereunto.

By this means may be easily known, how many years ago, even from this present time, any particular mentioned in the Table fell out, namely, by adding the *year before Christ*, set down by the side of the said particular in the Table, to the *present year of Christ*.

For instance, the *creation* is reckoned 3949 years
 3949 before Christ; therefore 3949 added to 1710 shews
 1710 — that the world was created 5659 years ago, from
 5659 this present time.

In reckoning the first year of the world, or the creation, to be three thousand nine hundred forty-nine years, before the common year of Christ's nativity; I follow the opinion most generally received, which makes the common epoch

of Christ to fall in with A. M. 3950. In a late edition of our English Bible, I find the creation computed to be four thousand and four years, before the common epoch of Christ, so that the difference is about fifty years.

As *A. D.* or *A. C.* does in short denote the *year of our Lord, or of Christ*; so *A. M.* denotes the *year of the world, or from the Creation*.

THE FOLLOWING TABLE

It being a method long since received among us, to reckon our years from the birth of Christ, and consequently the number of years from the birth of Christ, according to the common computation, being well known, and hence nothing can give us a clearer notion of the time, when it happened, the occurrence related in the history of the Old Testament, than computing us, how many years before the birth of Christ the same happened. For this reason, by the years of the world set down in the following table, I have adjusted also the number of years before Christ, respectively answering the same.

By this means may be easily known, how many years ago, even from this present time, any particular mentioned in the Table fell out, namely, by adding the year before Christ, set down by the side of the said particular in the Table, to the present year of Christ.

For instance, the creation is reckoned 3949 years before Christ; therefore 3949 added to 1710 shews that the world was created 5659 years ago, from this present time.

In reckoning the first year of the world, or the creation, to be three thousand nine hundred forty-nine years, before the common year of Christ a mistake; I follow the opinion most generally received, which makes the common epoch

A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Years of the World.	Years before the com- mon Year of Christ's Nativity.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
1	3949	The creation of the world in six days, Gen. i. Adam created on the sixth day, Gen. i. 26—31. Eve formed out of Adam's rib, Gen. ii. 22. The fall of man, Gen. iii. &c.
130	3820	Seth is born, Gen. v. 3.
235	3715	Enos is born, Gen. v. 6.
325	3625	Cainan is born, Gen. v. 9.
395	3555	Mahalaleel is born, Gen. v. 12.
460	3490	Jared is born, Gen. v. 15.
622	3328	Enoch is born, Gen. v. 18.
687	3263	Methuselah is born, Gen. v. 21.
874	3076	Lamech is born, Gen. v. 25.
930	3020	Adam dies, Gen. v. 5.
987	2963	Enoch is translated, Gen. v. 22—24.
1042	2908	Seth dies, Gen. v. 8.
1056	2894	Noah is born, Gen. v. 28.
1140	2810	Enos dies, Gen. v. 11.
1235	2715	Cainan dies, Gen. v. 14.

Years of the World.	Years before the common Year of Christ's Nativity.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
1290	2660	Mahalaleel dies, Gen. v. 17.
1422	2528	Jared dies, Gen. v. 20.
1556	2394	Japheth is born, * Gen. v. 32. compared with Gen. xi. 10. and Gen. ix. 22—24.
1558	2392	Shem is born, * Gen. xi. 10.
1651	2299	Lamech dies, Gen. v. 31.
1656	2294	Methuselah dies, Gen. v. 27. The Deluge or universal Flood is brought on the earth, in the six hundredth year of Noah, Gen. vii. 6.
1657	2293	The waters were dried up from off the earth, and Noah goes forth out of the ark, Gen. viii. 13. 16.
1658	2292	Arphaxad is born, Gen. xi. 10.
1693	2257	Salah is born, Gen. xi. 12.
1723	2227	Eber, or Heber, is born, Gen. xi. 14.
1757	2193	Peleg is born, Gen. xi. 16.
1787	2163	Reu, or Regu, is born, Gen. xi. 18.
1819	2131	Serug is born, Gen. xi. 20.

* Though the time of the births of Japheth and Shem is no where expressly mentioned, yet it is plainly enough to be inferred from the above-cited texts. For, Gen. xi. 10. we are told, that *Shem was an hundred years old—two years after the flood*, which answers to the six hundred and second year of Noah, inasmuch as the text expressly says, that *Noah was six hundred years old, when the flood was upon the earth*, Gen. vii. 6. Wherefore the hundredth year of Shem's age answering to the six hundred and second year of his father's, it follows, that Shem must be born in the five hundred and second year of Noah. But now, Gen. v. 32. it is plainly insinuated, that Noah began to beget children, and consequently begot his eldest son in the five hundredth year of his age; which eldest son must be Japheth, since Ham is expressly said to be the younger son, Gen. ix. 24. and since Shem was not born till the five hundred and second year of Noah.

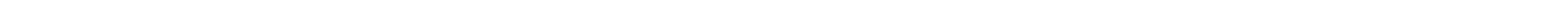
Years of the World.	Years before the com- mon Year of Christ's Nativity.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
1849	2101	Nahor is born, Gen. xi. 22.
1878	2072	Terah is born, Gen. xi. 24.
1948	2002	Abraham is born, Gen. xi. 26.
1996	1954	Peleg dies, Gen. xi. 19.
1997	1953	Nahor dies, Gen. xi. 25.
2006	1944	Noah dies, Gen. ix. 28, 29.
2023	1927	Abraham departs from Haran, in order to go into Canaan, being seventy-five years old, Gen. xii. 4.
2026	1924	Reu, or Regu, dies, Gen. xi. 21.
2034	1916	Ishmael is born, Gen. xvi. 3. and xvii. 25.
2047	1903	Abraham and Ishmael circumcised, Gen. xvii. 24, 25.
2048	1902	Isaac is born, Gen. xxi. 5.
2049	1901	Serug dies, Gen. xi. 23.
2083	1867	Terah dies, Gen. xi. 32.
2088	1862	Isaac marries Rebecca, Gen. xxv. 20.
2096	1854	Arphaxad dies, Gen. xi. 13.
2108	1842	Esau and Jacob are born, Gen. xxv. 26.
2123	1827	Abraham dies, Gen. xxv. 7.
2126	1824	Salah dies, Gen. xi. 15.
2158	1792	Shem dies, Gen. xi. 11.
2171	1779	Ishmael dies, Gen. xxv. 17.

Years of the World.	Years before the common Year of Christ's Nativity.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
2187	1763	Heber dies, Gen. xi. 16, 17.
2199	1751	Joseph is born. *
2228	1722	Isaac dies, Gen. xxxv. 28.
2229	1721	Joseph is made governor over Egypt, Gen. xli. 41—46.
2238	1712	Jacob goes down with his sons into Egypt, in the second year of the seven years of famine, (Gen. xlv. 11.) at which time he was an hundred and thirty years old, Gen. xlvii. 9.
2255	1695	Jacob dies, Gen. xlvii. 28.
2309	1641	Joseph dies, Gen. l. 22.

* That Joseph was born this year is thus proved: his father Jacob was an hundred and thirty years old, when he went down into Egypt; which answers to A. M. 2238. Joseph was at that time thirty-nine years old. For he was thirty years old when he was made governor of Egypt, Gen. xli. 46. After which came the seven years of plenty, Gen. xli. 53, 54. And then in the second year of famine his father came into Egypt, Gen. xlv. 11. being then, as is before observed, one hundred and thirty years old; wherefore deducting thirty-nine from one hundred and thirty, there remain ninety-one for the year of Jacob's age, wherein Joseph was born. But Jacob being born A. M. 2108, the ninety-first year of his age answers to A. M. 2199, which therefore is the year of the world wherein Joseph was born.

AN
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT.

PART II.



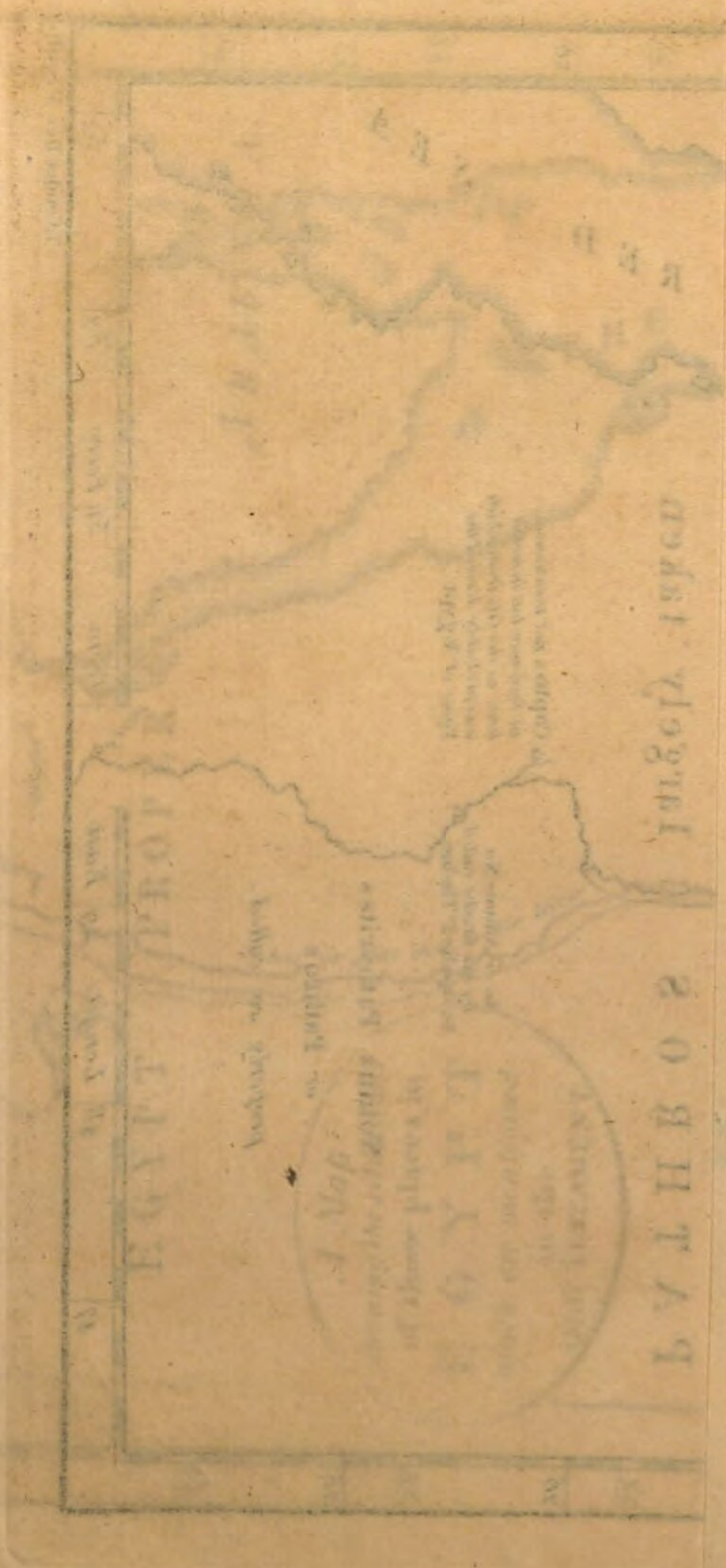
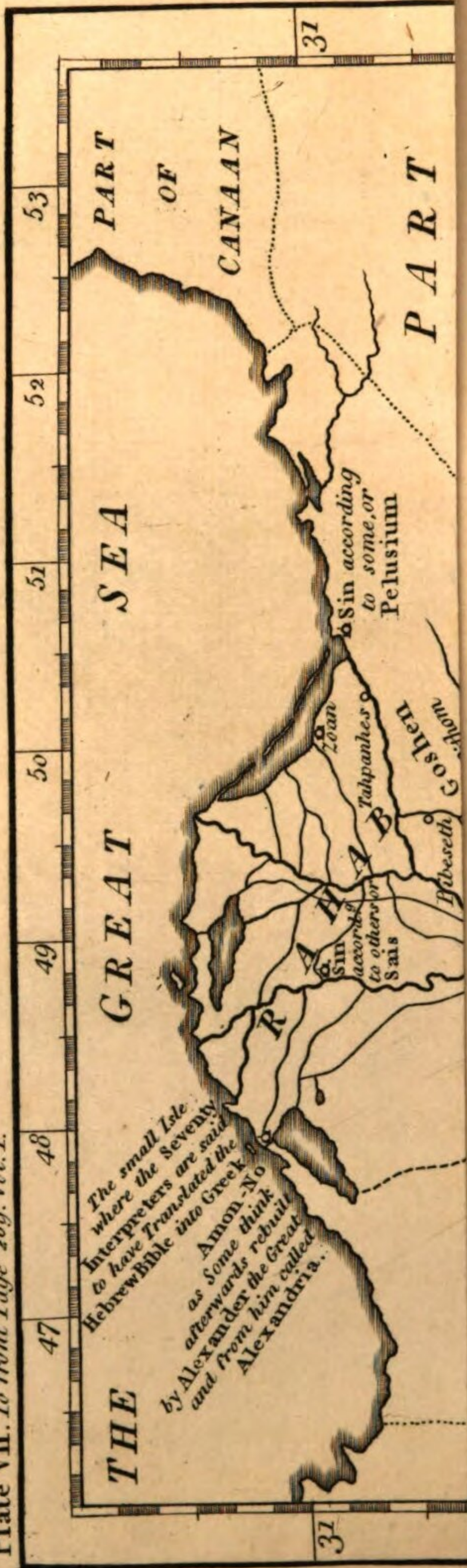


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AN
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Land of Egypt, and the several Places thereof mentioned in the Old Testament.

IN the former part, I have followed the series of the sacred history of the Old Testament, to the end of Genesis, that is, to the going down of Jacob and his sons out of Canaan into Egypt, and their settling there in the land of Goshen. The second book of Moses, called Exodus, takes its name from its treating principally of the Exodus, i. e. *the going out* of the Israelites from the land of Egypt. But before we accompany them out of Egypt, it seems proper *here* to say, what is requisite to be said, either concerning the land of Egypt in general, or the several particular places of it, mentioned in the Old Testament.

To speak then, in the first place, of Egypt in general.

PART II. The name, whereby it is generally denoted in the Hebrew text, is that of the land of Mizraim. It was so called, from its being first planted after the Flood by the descendants of Mizraim, one of the sons of Ham. It is three or four times in the book of Psalms styled the land of Ham; whence it is probable, that Ham settled himself, together with his son Mizraim, in this country. For it cannot be reasonably supposed, that the land of Mizraim is by another name called the land of Ham, only because Ham was the father of Mizraim; for then the land of Canaan, or of Cush, two other sons of Ham, might be as well denoted by the land of Ham. Since therefore it is only the land of Mizraim, that in holy Scripture is specified by the name of the land of Ham; it must be for some special reason: and the most probable seems to be that already mentioned, namely, that Ham chose to accompany his son Mizraim, and to settle where he settled. The Arabians are said still to call this country Masr, and the Turks Misr, agreeably to the Hebrew name Misraim; and Plutarch has observed, that in some of the sacred offices of the old Egyptians, it was called Chemia, a softer word for Chamia, which is plainly derived from Cham or Ham.

2. Of Egypt in general; and first, as to its names in Scripture.

3. In Heathen writers it has several names; but the most usual is that of Egypt; a name thought to be made of the Greek word *αἴα*, *Aia*, (as that from the Hebrew מִצְרַיִם,) signifying a land or country, and Coptus the name of a city in Egypt. Certain it is, that the Christians of this country were, and still are, commonly called Copti; and in the beginning of the Polyglot Bible we have an alphabet styled the Coptic or Egyptian alphabet. Indeed Αἴχιοπτος is easily softened into Αἴγυπτος, i. e. *Æcoptus* into *Ægyptus*. Some tell us that the Egyptians call themselves to this very day Chioth, and so suppose *Ægyptus* to be moulded from *Æchiotus*, or the like.

4. The situation of Egypt.

This country has been generally esteemed a part of Libya or Afric, being bounded with other countries of the Libyan or African continent to the west and south;

with the gulf of Arabia or the Red sea, and the Isthmus of Suez, (i. e. the neck of land between the Red and Mediterranean sea, whereby it joins on to Asia,) to the east; and with the Mediterranean sea to the north. CHAP. I.

It has been all along noted for its fruitfulness, and that has been all along attributed chiefly to the overflowings of the famous river Nile. It was formerly styled *the granary of the people of Rome*, whilst it was subject to the Roman empire; and now it is subject to the Ottoman or Turkish empire, it is the principal country that furnishes Constantinople with grain. 5.
Its fertility.

The inhabitants were looked upon by the Heathen world as the first inventors of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, physic, and magic or sorcery. Of their ability in the last we have remarkable instances, Exod. vii. 11, &c. They are thought at the first to have expressed their conceptions by the shapes of birds, beasts, trees, &c. which they termed *hieroglyphics*. Thus, for a year they are said to have painted a *snake* with his tail in his mouth, to shew how one year continually succeedeth another, without any interruption. And hence this *hieroglyphic* is made use of now-a-days by some of our almanack-makers. Le Bruyn has given us the draught of an obelisk, standing in Alexandria, hard by the palace of Cleopatra, full of hieroglyphics. As the Egyptians are said to have thus expressed their conceptions at first by these hieroglyphics, so are they also esteemed by the ancient Heathen writers as the first inventors of *letters*, as well as the fore-mentioned parts of learning. In short, it is from the Egyptians that Pythagoras and Democritus among the Greeks are said to have learnt their philosophy; Lycurgus, Solon, and Plato, their forms of government; Orpheus and Homer, their poetical fictions of the Gods. 6.
Of the
learning of
the Egypti-
ans.

I have taken the more notice of the learning of the old Egyptians, that from hence the reader might the better understand the full import of the sacred text, Acts vii. 22. where the protomartyr St. Stephen saith of Moses, that *he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*, thereby 7.
An obser-
vation in
respect to
Acts vii. 22.

PART II. denoting the great learning of Moses, as to the times he lived in.

8. Gypsies amongst us, whence so called. As to the present state of learning among the Egyptians, it is said, that nothing is now left among them of the *arts* of their ancestors, but an affectation they have to *divination* and *fortune-telling*. By which, and some cheating tricks, in which they are very well practised, great numbers of them get their livelihood, wandering about from one place to another. And this has given occasion to vagabonds and stragglers of other nations, who pretend to *fortune-telling*, to assume the names of Egyptians, or, as it is commonly and in short pronounced, *Gypsies*. And on the same account it seems to be, that our Gypsies affect to have tawny faces; because this is the natural colour of the true Egyptians.

9. Of the particular cities in Egypt mentioned in Scripture, and first of Zoan. Having said thus much of Egypt in general, I shall now proceed to speak of the several particular places thereof, mentioned in the Old Testament. And I shall begin with the city Zoan, not only as being, if not the city of Egypt^a, which is first mentioned in the sacred History, yet probably the first or most ancient city of all the cities in this country, and probably the first royal seat of the Pharaohs, or most ancient kings of Egypt. That it was the most ancient city of Egypt is probable, from what is remarked, Num. xiii. 22. viz. that *Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt*. By this remark, the sacred historian probably designed to set forth the antiquity of Hebron, and in order thereto observes, that it *was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt*; implying thereby that Zoan was the most ancient city of Egypt. And this is confirmed by the other consideration above mentioned, namely, that Zoan was the royal city of the Pharaohs, the most ancient kings of Egypt. For the miracles, which were wrought before Pharaoh, in order to bring him to yield to the Israelites going out of Egypt, are expressly said, Psalm lxxviii. 12. to be done, several of them, *in the field of Zoan*. And there-

^a The Syriac Version reads *Zoan*, not *Zoar*, Gen. xiii. 10.

fore, as it is highly probable that Zoan had been, from the first erecting of this kingdom to the time here referred to, the capital city of the Egyptians; so it is very probable that it continued to be so for many generations after, namely, to the days of Isaiah the prophet. For he, foretelling the calamities that were to come upon Egypt, and the means whereby they would come upon it, expresses himself thus, Isai. xix. 11. *Surely the princes of Zoan are fools; the counsel of the wise counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish.* Where, by the mention made of the *princes of Zoan*, is plainly denoted, that Zoan was the city, where the princes of Egypt usually or chiefly resided; and, by what follows, it is as clearly denoted, that Zoan was the place, where Pharaoh held his councils of state; and consequently, that it was the capital city of Egypt, even in the days of the Prophet Isaiah. It is true indeed, that in the same chap. ver. 13. we have mention also of the *princes of Noph*; and chap. xxx. 4. the Prophet, speaking of the Israelites applying themselves to Egypt for succour, says, that *their princes were at Zoan, and their ambassadors came to Hanes.* Where it appears, that Noph and Hanes were two other cities of Egypt, where the king did sometimes reside: but it still seems probable, that Zoan was then the capital city of all; inasmuch as it is all along first named. It is likewise mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel; but whether it was in his days the capital city, is not so certain: there are some considerations arising from Ezek. xxx. 13, &c. which tend to induce us to believe, that it might be then in its declining state; and that the royal seat was transferred to Noph, of which by and by.

The name, whereby Zoan was called by the Greeks, is Tanis; whence we have the Hebrew word Zoan all along rendered by the Seventy Interpreters by the word Tanin, or Tanis; and indeed the Hebrew letter Tzade, which we render by Z, is by the Greeks rendered in other words by a T; as the famous city for merchandise, called by the Hebrews Tzor, was by the Greeks called *Tύρος*, and thence by the Latins Tyrus, and by us Tyre.

10.

Zoan the same with Tanis.

PART II.

11.
The situa-
tion of
Zoan.

Zoan being without doubt the same with Tanis, hence we come to have some certainty as to its situation; forasmuch as Tanis was placed not far from the Mediterranean sea, and near the second mouth of the river Nile, reckoning from the east, to which it gave name. For as the first (at least considerable) mouth of the Nile to the east was called *Pelusiacum Ostium*, i. e. the Pelusian mouth, from the adjacent city of Pelusium; so the second or next to it westward was called *Ostium Taniticum*, i. e. the Tanitic mouth, or mouth by Tanis.

12.
Of Noph.

The next city of Egypt mentioned in Scripture, which I shall here take notice of, is Noph, which is by the Seventy Interpreters rendered Memphis, a city very famous in common histories, and especially for its *pyramids* esteemed one of the wonders of the world. This city lay above the parting of the Nile into those several streams, whereby it empties itself into the Mediterranean sea; and so to the south of Tanis, or rather south-west. Here stood a celebrated temple of Serapis, and the temples of other Egyptian idols, to which in the prophet Ezekiel there is had peculiar respect, when it is said, *I will also destroy the idols, and will cause their images to cease out of Noph*, Ezek. xxx.

13.

13.
Of the py-
ramids.

But Memphis is celebrated by Heathen writers for nothing more than the pyramids, which were built in the neighbourhood of it, in a very barren sandy plain, where the sight may extend itself very far and wide, without any hindrance: these pyramids are by the Arabs called *Dgebel Pharaon*, and by the Turks *Pharaen Doglary*, that is to say, Pharaoh's mountains; and are chiefly three, which may be seen from Cairo, and a great way beyond it. Of these three pyramids, two are shut; but the other, which is the biggest of all, is open, and is that which travellers mount and enter into. This we have described, both by Monsieur Thevenot, and also by Le Bruyn; which last person has obliged these parts of the world with several draughts relating hereto.

As to the dimensions of the biggest pyramid, Thevenot

tells us, that it has two hundred and eight great stone- CHAP. I.
steps, whereby persons get up to the top on the outside.

Le Bruyn reckoned two hundred and ten of these steps. 14.
And Thevenot has remarked, that it is very usual thus to The num-
differ in numbering of them, insomuch that the same man ber of steps
coming again a second time, shall not find the same number up to the
that he had at first, if he begin not to ascend at the same place. top of the
biggest py-
ramid, on
the outside.

And the reason of this variety he accounts for thus; that
betwixt the corners towards the middle of the front, there
is a little hill of sand driven up by the wind, that covers
several steps, which are uncovered further off. Hence they
that go up about the middle of the front, reckon fewer
steps than they that go up further off, because they reckon
not the steps which are there covered with sand, and which
are reckoned elsewhere, because uncovered. Besides, the
trouble of going up or down makes one apt to miscount,
and some reckon half steps for whole ones.

Thevenot tells us, that these stone-steps are about two 15.
feet and an half high, one with another; for some of them The thick-
are thicker, and above three feet high. Le Bruyn saith, ness of the
he found them to be, some four hand-breadths high, some steps.
five, and some six; some of them two hand-breadths wide,
and others three. Hence, adds he, it is easy to guess, how
difficult it is to get up; and indeed one must work at once,
both with hands, feet, and knees; and there is need of
resting by the way. And yet it is more difficult to come
down than to go up: for when one looks down, the hair of
one's head stands an end: wherefore, says he, I came
down backwards, and looked no where, but to set my
feet right in coming down.

Thevenot observes, that many think that these steps 16.
have only been made by the weather; but in all appear- The stones
ance that could not have worn them out so regularly; laid so at
though without doubt it has worn away a great deal, as first.
may be seen by the pieces yet that lie all round below.
Hence Le Bruyn supposes, that, when this pyramid was
built, the stones were so laid on each other, that there
was a space left at every row to stand upon, or to have

PART II. firm footing to go up and come down by, as if they were steps.

17. On the top of this pyramid there is a fine platform, from whence there is a pleasant prospect of Old Cairo, and the adjacent plains. This platform, which, when looked upon from below, seems to terminate in a point, consists of ten or twelve great stones, being sixteen or seventeen feet square. Thevenot tells us, that there are some stones wanting; and it is to be thought, that somebody or other have pulled them down, for the weather could not do it. Le Bruyn saith, that some of these stones are a little broke; and the chief of all (on which were most of the names of those that had got up thither) had been thrown down to the bottom by some French travellers.

18. This pyramid, saith Thevenot, is five hundred and twenty feet high, upon a base of six hundred and eighty-two feet square. About half way up, in one of the angles of the pyramid, that looks between east and north, (which is the place, adds he, by which I should advise one to go up,) there is a little square room, but nothing to be seen therein; only if you be weary, you may rest yourself in it. Le Bruyn tells us, that he found the height to be an hundred and twelve fathom, which (counting each fathom five feet and an half) amounts to six hundred and sixteen feet. And that, walking from one corner to another, he counted three hundred good paces; and after that, measuring the distance of those corners from each other, with a line he brought for the purpose, he found it to amount to an hundred and twenty-eight fathom, which make seven hundred and four feet. So that, according to his measuring, this pyramid was found to be eighty-eight feet broader at the bottom (and as far as could be measured above the sand) than it is high; and therefore, adds he, the centre of the pyramid ought to be three hundred sixty and two feet.

19. Hence Le Bruyn would have it considered, how it can agree with truth, which some say, viz. that an arrow being shot from the top of this pyramid can never fly so far, as it.

the last step or row of stones at the foot of it reaches. CHAP. I.

For an indifferent strong arm can shoot an arrow a thousand feet in length ; and I have seen, adds he, some among the Turks and Arabs, that could shoot an arrow above twelve hundred paces. Thevenot makes the like remark, looking on it as a fable, that one (standing on the top of the pyramid, for so he must be understood) cannot shoot an arrow beyond the foundation of the pyramid. For it is certain, says he, that an arrow drawn by a good arm will easily fly three hundred and forty-one feet, which is one half of the breadth of the pyramid. He adds, however, that a man, unless he be extraordinary strong, cannot indeed throw a stone from the top, and make it fall beyond the steps of the pyramid. For, says he, I got a pretty strong man to throw one ; and all he could do, would but make it fall on the twelfth step, or a little lower.

And thus much for the outside of this pyramid ; near 20.
which is the monstrous statue, called the Sphynx, so famous amongst the ancients, and standing at some distance towards the east of the biggest pyramid. It is a statue, or image, cut out of the rock itself, which represents the head of a woman, with half the breast, but is at present sunk or buried in the sand to the very neck : the other parts are meant to represent those of a lion, or some other beast. Of the Sphynx by the pyramid.
It is an extraordinary great lump or mass, but withal proportionable. The head itself is six and twenty feet high, and from the ear to the chin is fifteen feet, according to Thevenot. The greatness of this monstrous statue is represented, in the draught of Le Bruyn, by the proportion which he observed between it and the persons that are represented near it.

But to return to our pyramid, and to speak now of the 21.
inside thereof. The door or entry is on the sixteenth step as you go up, counting from the foot on the north side. Of the inside of the pyramids, and first of the entry, &c.
The entry is square, and of the same height and breadth from the beginning to the end ; the height being about three feet and an half, and the breadth a little less. The stone that lies over the entry, or door of it, is very big,

PART II. being near twelve feet long, and above eight feet wide. This entry goes insensibly descending the length of seventy six or seven feet. At the end of it there is another passage like the former, but goes a little rising, of the same breadth, but so low that one must lie on one's belly to creep through it. And at the meeting of these two passages, the one descending, the other ascending, is the greatest difficulty one meets with in the pyramid, as Thevenot conceives. For, says he, this descent, namely of the entry or first passage, butting on the ascent of the second passage, makes with it a sharp ridge, over which there is a great stone, which is the lowermost stone of the roof of the descent, and is perpendicular to it; between which and the sand there is not above a good foot space to pass through. So that one must slide upon his belly close to the ground; and for all that, you rub and grate your back against the aforesaid stone, unless you be a very slender man. And besides, you must advance with your feet up in the descent, your belly low between the descent and ascent, and the head rising up in the beginning of the same ascent. Thevenot adds, that he does not doubt, but that the passage of itself is as high there, as at the very entry into the pyramid; but the wind driving in much sand, it heaps up in this place between the descent and ascent. And he strengthens his opinion with a very good argument drawn from experience. For, says he, I went thither another time, when we were told, some of the Basha's servants had been there three days before, being curious to see what it was that obliged the Franks to go into it; and we found the passage so clean and easy, that we passed it without putting either belly or knee to the ground.

22.
Of what
occurs first
in the as-
cent.

Having passed this streight, you find a sultry stifling air, which nevertheless you will soon be accustomed to; and, to afford some relief, here is a space where one may take a little rest. On the right hand there is an ugly great hole, which reaches a pretty way, but going no farther, it is supposed that it has been occasioned only by the

decay of time. Having gone about an hundred and eleven feet in the ascent or rising passage, you find as it were two passages or galleries, one low and horizontal, or even to the ground, the other high and sloping upwards like the former. At the entry of the lower passage there is a well, or pit, which probably was made to let down the corpses, that were laid in the cavities under the pyramid. This low passage, which is three feet and three inches square, leads into a chamber eighteen feet long, and twelve feet wide, having a sharp roof. Some pretend that in a higher place near this chamber is a window or hole, through which one may go into other passages: but neither Thevenot nor Le Bruyn could discover any such.

Returning from the horizontal passage or way, which is on the right hand, you enter into the other on the left, which is six feet and four inches wide, and rises the length of an hundred and sixty-two feet. On each side of the wall is a stone bench, two feet and an half high, and pretty broad; which serves to take hold by, in going up; to which the holes that are made, almost every step, in the earth, are of no small service, though they are confused and without order. It is not known by whom these holes were made; but those that go to see the pyramids are obliged to them who made them; for without these holes it would be impossible to get up, says Le Bruyn; and a man must be strong, that can get up by the help of them, together with the stone bench, by which one holds fast with one hand, while the other holds the candle. Add to this, that a man must make large steps, these holes being six hands breadth from each other.

This ascent, which cannot be beheld without admiration, may well pass for what is most considerable in the pyramid; for the stones, that make the wall of it, are as smooth as a looking-glass, and so well joined together, that one would be apt to take it for one single stone. The roof is here very high, and so sumptuous, that it is better represented than described. For this reason Le Bruyn took a draught of it, some of his company resting

23.

The length,
&c. of the
ascent.

24.

A draught
of the as-
cent of
what is
most consi-
derable in
the pyra-
mid.

PART II. themselves the meanwhile on the bench that is on the right hand, and some being got up with their lights to the top of the ascent, into the chamber of the tombs, which gave him opportunity to take a view of the roof more at large.

25. The chamber of the tombs or sepulchres (called by Thevenot the Hall) is, as has been just said, on the top of the ascent, being very large and spacious, thirty-two feet long, sixteen feet wide, and nineteen feet high. The roof is flat, and consists but of nine stones; whereof seven in the middle are each four feet wide, and sixteen feet long; the other two, that are at the two ends, appear to be not above two feet broad apiece: but the reason is, because the other half of them is built into the wall: they are of the same length of the other seven; all of them being laid athwart over the breadth of the chamber, with their ends resting upon the walls on each side.

26. At the end of this hall, or chamber, stands an empty tomb, all of one stone; yet sounds, if struck upon, like a great bell. It is three feet and an inch wide, and seven feet two inches long. The stone is above five inches thick, says Le Bruyn, extraordinary hard, and like *porphyry*; it is well polished, and so very beautiful. Thevenot says, that it is very neat when polished, which makes many break off pieces of it to make seals of; but it requires a strong arm and good hammer, to break off a bit. The walls of this chamber are lined also with the same sort of stone.

27. The tomb is quite naked, without any cover or balusters; either because it has been broken, or else never had any. For it is said by the inhabitants of the country, that the king, who ordered that pyramid to be built, was never buried in it; it being the common opinion, that the said king was that Pharaoh, who by the just judgment of God was drowned with all his army in the Red sea. As to the doubt that many make, whether this tomb was placed there before the pyramid was built; I think, says Thevenot, that it is not at all to be doubted, but it was set there before the pyramid was finished. For, though the

entry be wide enough for the tomb, yet the ascent that immediately follows the descent, must have hindered the conveyance of it. And thus much for the inside of the biggest pyramid. CHAP. I.

Pliny, speaking of this pyramid, says, that it was built in twenty years' time, three hundred and seventy thousand men being employed therein; and that eighteen hundred talents were laid out only in *radishes* and *onions*. 28.

The time, men, and money employed in building this pyramid.

This may seem incredible to those that never were in this country: but when one considers, that this is the ordinary food of the common people, and that almost all those, who were employed in raising these great piles, were slaves and mercenaries, who, besides bread and water, had nothing else but *radishes* and *onions*, there will be no such great reason to wonder at it. And it must farther be considered, that *onions* are very delicate here, so that, in regard of the weakness of human nature, the Israelites ought not, says Le Bruyn, to be too highly condemned for complaining in the wilderness for want of the *onions* of Egypt. 29.

Of the onions in Egypt.

Concerning the pyramids in general, it is supposed, that they all have had a passage, which led into a chamber or room, where were deposited the corpses of those, for whom the pyramids were respectively made; that they were at first placed regularly, and that each of the three great ones, that remain in this place at this present, were at the head of ten little ones, which are so much ruined as scarcely to be known at the time when Milton our countryman, who gives this account, was there. Nevertheless it was then judged, that there had been above an hundred, great and small. But Le Bruyn says hereupon, that if Milton saw them, they are since buried in the sand, there being nothing to be seen when he was there, but what he has represented in the copper-plate given in his work. 30.

Some reports concerning the pyramids in general.

It is farther remarked, that these pyramids are built on an eminence, which is a very solid rock, covered with white sand. Which makes it very probable, that the stones, of which the pyramids are made, were taken out 31.

The pyramids built of stone in the same place.

PART II. of the same place. Besides, there are several neighbouring mountains that abound in stone, as Thevenot informs us! So that there seems to have been no necessity of fetching these stones from afar, as some travellers and ancients have wrote. That they were rather taken out of the place where they stand, is farther made probable; inasmuch as the stone, wherewith the pyramids are built, is not marble, but a very hard stone of white sand; and it has been above observed, that the eminence, on which these pyramids stand, is a very solid rock covered with white sand.

32. I hope I may the more easily be excused for insisting so long on these pyramids, as being the only *one* this day remaining of the *seven wonders* of the world, which the ancients so much boasted of. And Thevenot affirms, that these pyramids are really *wonders*, worthy of the ancient kings of Egypt, who for magnificence of buildings exceeded all others of their time; and I believe, adds he, without disparagement to any, that no prince in the world is able to raise such works, as well for the difficulty of piling up so many huge stones one over another, as for the tediousness of the labour. And Le Bruyn observes, that it is pity that historians have not transmitted down to us what instruments and machines were made use of, for to raise such great stones to so great an height.

33. Le Bruyn tells us, that it is believed, that where these pyramids stand, is the place, where formerly they buried their dead, and that it belonged to Memphis; that all the Arabian historians agree in this, that Memphis stood in the same place where these pyramids are, and over-against Old Cairo. And Thevenot says, that having viewed the pyramids, he went to the plains where the mummy-piles are; and that this plain begins near the place where the stately city of Memphis heretofore stood, of which some marks are still to be seen on the Nile. There are, adds he, several pyramids (namely, besides those already mentioned) in this plain, and that for several miles together. And at the end of the same chapter he says, that not far from the

mummies towards the Nile, are some remains of a large town, which was Memphis, the inhabitants whereof were buried where the mummies are, the ancients not burying within towns, for fear of infecting the air. Now to prove, adds he, that these great ruins are the remains of Memphis, Pliny affirms it, where he says, that the pyramids are between the Delta of Egypt (i. e. between the parting of the Nile into two principal streams) and the city of Memphis on the side of Afric. CHAP. I.

Thevenot elsewhere observes, that the ancients chose a very good situation for Memphis, on the west side of the river; and that Old Cairo has since been built also upon the river, opposite to Memphis. But New or Grand Cairo stands ill, being seated at the foot of an hill, which the castle stands on; so that the hill covers it, and keeps off all the wind and air, which causes such a stifling heat there, as begets many diseases. Whereas, if it stood in the place where Old Cairo is, they would have the benefit of the river, which would not only save them the trouble of bringing water into the city on camels backs, but would also ease them of the labour and charge of carrying their goods on camels, from the city to the port, or from the port to the city; and besides, they would have the benefit of the wind, which blows on all hands along the river, so that the heat would not be so prejudicial. I can see, says Thevenot, no reason why so incommodious a situation was pitched upon, unless it was to join the city to the castle, that so it might be under the protection thereof. 34.

Memphis formerly stood in a good situation; but Grand Cairo stands in a bad situation.

This castle of Grand Cairo is agreed on by travellers to be one of the most curious pieces in all Egypt. It is built on a rock, and surrounded with a very high and strong wall, which at every hundred paces is flanked with large and strong towers. The ascent up to it is out of the rock, and is so easy, that loaded camels and horses may easily go up it. In this castle are many stately ruins; for the greatest and best part is ruined, though several fair buildings remain still. Among the ruins is shewn an hall, called Joseph's hall, supported by thirty large pillars of Theban 35.

Of Joseph's hall, and other buildings, shewn in the castle of Grand Cairo.

PART II. stone. Gold and azure (with which the Mosaic works still remaining are diversified) were not spared by the builder hereof: notwithstanding the long tract of years, and even ages, that are past, they still beautify the ceiling. Another hall, which is not far from the former, and which the natives call Pharaoh's hall, is set off with the same workmanship as that of Joseph's. But this is kept shut most part of the year, because here they embroider the vest or garment of Mahomet, which is sent every year to Mecca. There is likewise the hall of Joseph's Steward or Overseer; but it is very much ruined: however there are ten or twelve pillars of the same stone, which are still standing. Besides this, there are likewise several other apartments, and a certain place, where are several fine pillars of a very regular order, which supported a vault, that was formerly the cover of a dome, but at present lies open. Each of these pillars was three fathom about, and might be, according as I could guess, says Le Bruyn, seventeen feet high. This must needs have been a very magnificent building; for that which remains of it, as much ruined as it is, raises admiration and astonishment.

36. **Of Joseph's prison.** Hard by this palace is shewed a frightful prison, divided into several dungeons, which are cut out of the rock, and so dark that one would be afraid to set foot therein. It is called Joseph's prison, because they pretend that here it was that he interpreted the dream of the king's butler and baker. It is still made use of for a prison, and it is a place from whence all pity seems to be banished. If a man has not wherewithal to grease the fist of the keeper, no misery is comparable to that which the poor wretches suffer who are confined therein.

37. **Of Joseph's well.** But, says Thevenot, the finest and most curious thing to be seen in the castle is Joseph's well, which, says he, is certainly a wonder. Time has not done the least damage to it, says Le Bruyn. It is entirely cut out of the rock, and its mouth is eleven feet long, and ten broad. They draw the water out of it by the means of two wheels, one of which is at the well's mouth, and the other twenty-nine

fathom lower. To each of these wheels belong two oxen, which turn them round continually. The water is drawn up with earthen pitchers, which are fastened to a rope that runs round the wheel; and when it is at the top, the water is thrown out into gutters, which convey it all over the castle.

You go down into the well by a stair-case, seven or eight feet broad, and cut in the rock; so as that on the left hand you have the main rock for the wall, and on the right hand you have some of the same rock left, which seems as a wall to the well on the inside, and also as a wall to the stair-case on the other side, and so serves to keep one from falling, or indeed seeing into the well, unless it be by windows, that are at convenient distances. The stair-case turns twelve times round the well in the nature of winding stairs, (for which reason the Arabs call it *the well of the winding stair-case*;) and of these twelve turnings, six have eighteen steps each, and the six others have each of them nineteen steps; which make two hundred and twenty-two steps in all. All these steps are made very easy, because the oxen must go up and down them every day; and indeed the descent is scarce discernible. In short, when one looks into the well through the windows, it presents one with a pleasant sight, as well by reason of the depth and breadth of the well, as also upon the account of the extraordinary manner whereby the wheel is turned round.

When after all these turnings one is descended to the bottom, where the well is as broad as at the top, a little on the right hand, one meets within the rock a second well, or more properly the lower part of the former well, whose mouth is a great deal narrower. It is here that one sees the oxen turn the wheel, and draw the water, which is conveyed by a pipe into a large cistern, from whence those earthen pitchers, which are fastened to the rope of the upper wheel, do continually suck up the water to carry it upwards. The depth of the upper well, or upper part of this well, was found by Le Bruyn to be fifty-three fathom, i. e. two hundred ninety-one feet and an half.

PART II. The second well, or lower part of this well, he found to be twenty-four fathom, i. e. an hundred thirty-two feet deep. These are the most remarkable places in this castle of Grand Cairo, which, says Thevenot, is the finest I ever saw, not only for strength, but also for the stately buildings that are in it, the pleasant prospect and the good air; in a word, it is a work worthy of the ancient Pharaohs and Ptolemies who built it, and answers very well with the magnificence of the pyramids: to which, from Joseph's well, there was anciently a passage, as the inhabitants say, shewing at the bottom of the upper part of the well two holes, which are like to two door-ways cut out of the rock, but at present stopped up. That on the left hand, and which is the first of the two, leads, as they say, as far as the pyramids; and the other, on the right hand, to the Red sea. But though this castle is so extraordinary a building, and might be built, or at least begun, by some of the Pharaohs; and though there are places here, which go under the name of Joseph's hall, well, prison, &c. yet it may be questioned whether this castle, or any part of it, was in being in the days of that Pharaoh who advanced Joseph, or of Joseph himself. And Thevenot has observed, that all the fine pieces of antiquity that remain in Egypt are attributed to Joseph; and, adds he, all that is ugly or infamous to Pharaoh; whereby is to be understood the Pharaoh that oppressed the Israelites, and was drowned in the Red sea.

38. We have no mention made of Noph, or Memphis, in the history of Joseph, nor till the time of the prophet Isaiah. And if we consider, what has been observed occasionally in this chapter, concerning the three cities, Memphis, Old Cairo, and New or Grand Cairo, it appears to be not questionable but that Old Cairo arose out of the ruins, or upon the decay of Memphis, being placed on the east side of the Nile, opposite to the place where Memphis stood on the west side; and that, upon the decay of Old Cairo, arose New Cairo, about a quarter of a league from the former, and placed under the foremen-

A consideration in reference to Memphis, Old and New Cairo.

tioned hill for the forementioned reason. And hence New Cairo is called by the Arabians Masr, and by the Turks Misr, or Missir. For as these names are evidently derived from Mizraim, the founder of the Egyptian nation, and therefore applied also to the whole country, as has been before observed; so they were in all probability the very names by which the city Memphis was anciently denoted by the respective nations. For though these several cities differ a little as to their situation, yet the one successively arising as it were out of the other, and the difference of situation being but little, hence these cities were rather looked upon by the said foreign nations as still one and the same city, and therefore were still called by one and the same name in each nation respectively. And this is put out of doubt, I think, by what Le Bruyn tells us, concerning the name of Old Cairo, namely, that the Arabs call it Mazar, from the founder of the Egyptian nation. For though he tells us, that the name whereby the Arabs call New Cairo is Masr; yet it is evident that the names both of Old and New Cairo are originally the same; and perhaps the difference of spelling made by him between the two names has no good foundation. In short, certain it is that this is no other case, than what there may be several like instances given of.

Le Bruyn tells us, that Grand or New Cairo is vulgarly (whereby I suppose he means, by the Egyptians themselves) called Al-Kair, from whence we Europeans call it Cairo. He tells us withal, that this word some pretend to be derived from El-cahira, which, according to their interpretation, signifies a *cloister*; but that others bestow a more noble etymology upon it, affirming it has this name from the planet of Mars, which in Arabic is called El Caher. But I suppose that such as understand the Hebrew tongue may think that there is a much more obvious account to be given of this appellation, for Kir in the Hebrew language denotes a *city*; whence we find not only the names of several cities in the Old Testament to begin with the word Kir, or, which comes to the same,

39.

A remark concerning the name Al-Kair.

PART II. Kirjath, as Kir-harasath, Kirjath-arba, Kirjath-baal, &c. but also some cities simply denoted by the name Kir. Whence it is not unlikely that the ancient Egyptians might commonly denote Memphis by the name of Al-Kair, i. e. *The city*, as being then the chief city of the country; and consequently the same name might be afterwards continued successively to Old and New Cairo, as arising out of Memphis, or being as it were Memphis a little removed as to its first situation. This opinion, that the name Al-Kair is of the same importance with the Hebrew Kir, may be put, I think, beyond doubt, from several instances of the like nature still preserved among our old Britons, or in Wales: for here we find that the names of several of the principal towns begin with Kaer, or Caer; as Caernarvon, Caermarthen, Caerdigan, or Cardigan, &c.

40. I had almost omitted taking notice of what are called
Of Joseph's granaries. Joseph's granaries, in Old Cairo. The inhabitants have a tradition, that these are the very granaries which Joseph built, to lay up corn in against the approaching years of famine. They are still used to keep corn in for the use of the soldiers. They are very large, and encompassed with a wall after the antique manner, being divided into several parts, and open at the top; because rain is not feared in Egypt; not that it never rains there, but very seldom and little, and especially in the inland parts.

41. There are in Old Cairo three Christian churches, that
Our Saviour said to have lived at Old Cairo. of St. Barnaby, that of St. George, and that of St. Sergius. The first is the chiefest, under which is a kind of chapel, very deep and dark, which it is said was formerly a little house or grot, where Joseph and the Virgin Mary lived, with our blessed Saviour then a child.

42. But however there is another place more remarkable,
Another place where our Saviour is said to have lived. and generally visited by travellers on account of its being believed to be the place where Joseph and Mary made choice to dwell, during their retirement into Egypt. The borough, or village, is two good hours eastward from New Cairo, and is called Matarea, or Mataree. Here

they shew the house, in which it is said Joseph and Mary CHAP. I.
lived; which is a square chamber, the floor whereof is
paved. There is also a fountain, or sort of a square well.
The water of this well is dispersed here and there in the
gardens thereabouts, being drawn up by a wheel turned
by oxen, much as that of Joseph's well at Grand Cairo.
Some pretend that this water comes under ground from
the Nile; but others say that there is a spring there.
And this latter opinion seems more probable, as well be-
cause the place is too far distant from the Nile, as also
because, when the water of the Nile is very thick, this,
as the inhabitants tell you, is always clear: besides, the
name of the place favours the latter opinion; for Matarea
comes from Matarug, (as Le Bruyn writes the words,) 43.
which signifieth fresh or cool water; or (as Thevenot Of Pathros.
writes them) Matharee, comes from Matarith, which sig-
nifies fresh water. In a garden near this place is a great
piece of a tree, which they say was there in the time of
Joseph and Mary's dwelling there. Many fables are told
of this tree, and travellers generally take a piece of its
wood, which brings great profit to the master of the
garden.

I proceed now to the description of the remaining
places of Egypt that occur in sacred History. And the
next I shall speak of is Pathros, mentioned by the prophets
Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. It is not always rendered
the same way by the Seventy Interpreters. For Isa. xi. 11.
they render it by Babylonia; but Jer. xlv. 1, 15. by Pa-
thura; and Ezekiel xxix. 14. and xxx. 14. by Phathora.
In the first text they seem to have taken Pathros to be the
same with Pethor, the city of Balaam, and lying in Me-
sopotamia, and so appertaining to Babylonia. For this
city of Balaam (called Numb. xxii. 5. in the Hebrew text,
and our translation, Pethor) is in the Septuagint version
rendered Phathoura, or Phatura, much as Pathros is in
the other text above cited. But it is scarcely to be
doubted but that by Pathros in Isai. xi. 11. is to be un-
derstood the place denoted by the same Hebrew name in

PART II. the other prophets, and consequently a city and country in Egypt. For as Ezek. xxx. 14. it is mentioned together with the cities of Noph or Memphis, Zoan or Tanis, &c. so it is not to be questioned but it was the name of a city likewise. And Jer. xlv. 1. it is expressly styled the *country*, or *land of Pathros*. And it is well known that Egypt was distinguished into several *nomi*, or districts, which were usually denominated from the principal town or city in each. Thus the district of Memphis was styled *Nomus Memphites*. Wherefore since we meet in Pliny with a district called *Nomus Phanturites*, (probably for *Phaturites*,) and in Ptolemy with a town called *Pathyris*, (corruptly, as is thought, wrote *Tathyris*,) hence it is not without some probability conjectured, that this *Pathyris*, which gave name to the *Nomus Pathyrites*, or *Phaturites*, was the *Pathros* mentioned in the Hebrew text. And if so, it then lay in that part of Egypt which is more properly called *Thebais*, and which takes up the southern part of Egypt largely taken. For as Egypt was formerly distinguished into a great many *nomi*, or lesser divisions; so was it early distinguished into two greater divisions, that to the north being more specially called *Egypt*, and that to the south being called *Thebais*. And it is not improbably thought that this distinction is alluded to by the prophets, when, together with the land of Egypt, they mention the land or country of *Pathros*. Thus Isai. xi. 11. *In that day the Lord shall set his hand to recover the remnant of his people from Egypt and from Pathros*. So Jer. xlv. 1. *The word that came to Jeremiah concerning all the Jews which dwell in the land of Egypt, and in the country of Pathros*. And Ezek. xxix. 14. *I will bring again the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return into the land of Pathros*. In which several places, the *land of Pathros* seems to be plainly distinguished from the *land of Egypt*; and therefore, as by the *Land of Egypt* is to be understood *Egypt more specially so called*, so by the *land of Pathros* is to be understood not only the *Nomus Pathyrites* before mentioned, but the other great division of

Egypt largely taken, and called by the Greeks Thebais, CHAP. I.
 from Thebes, a city standing in it, and of which I shall
 speak in the next place, after I have observed that the Ta-
 thyris or Pathyris of Ptolemy, probably thought to be
 the Hebrew Pathros, lay somewhat remote from the river
 Nile, on the west side of it towards Afric, not far from
 Memnon, and over against Thebes, which we are going to
 speak of.

For the city which in our translation is rendered No,
 (Jer. xlvi. 25. Ezek. xxx. 15, 16.) is by the Seventy Inter-
 preters rendered Diospolis, or *the city of Jove*. Now there
 was a city of this name lying on the branch of the Nile,
 which was next westward to that which ran by Zoan, or
 Tanis. But Bochart thinks, that by the Diospolis of the
 Seventy Interpreters is rather to be understood the more
 famous city of that name, lying in the southern part of
 Egypt, and otherwise called Thebe, and giving denomina-
 tion to all the south part of Egypt. And he supposes,
 that by the Jove, from whom this city took the name of
 Diospolis, is to be understood Ham, the third son of Noah,
 and father of Mizraim, from whom descended the Egypti-
 ans. His opinion is founded on this, that what we trans-
 late (Jer. xlvi. 25.) *the multitude of No*, is in the Hebrew
 text *Amon-No*, that is, the God Amon, in honour of
 whom there is a temple erected in the city No: whence
 the said city came to be styled Amon-No in other places
 of Scripture. Now it is very probable that Ham was the
 person denoted by the Amon here worshipped, as well as
 by Jupiter Amon, or Ammon, whose temple or oracle
 was so famous in the adjacent parts of Libya, or Afric.
 This Amon-No, or Diospolis, otherwise called Thebe, is
 reported to have been extraordinary large, and to have
 had no fewer than an hundred gates, whence it was sur-
 named Hecatompylæ, i. e. *the Thebes with an hundred
 gates*. It is also related to have been so beautified with
 colosses, obelisks, temples, palaces, and other stately build-
 ings and ornaments, that it was thought to be, as Dr.
 Heylin expresses it, the *none-such* of the whole world.

PART II. But how stately soever it was, it fell to decay so long since, that there was nothing left of it but ruins in the time of the poet Juvenal. It must not be omitted that the Chaldee Paraphrast understands Alexandria by No, and herein is followed by some modern writers. I shall speak somewhat of Alexandria hereafter.

45.
Of Syene.

Being now got into the south part of Egypt, I shall speak next of Syene, a city mentioned in Scripture, and not only lying in this south part, but esteemed usually the last or most southern city of this division of Thebais, and consequently the last city of all Egypt towards Ethiopia. Hence the prophet Ezekiel, speaking of the desolation that God would bring on all Egypt, from one end of it to the other, says thus; *Therefore thus says the Lord God; —Behold, I will make the land of Egypt utterly desolate, from the tower of Syene even unto the border of Cush.* xxix.

10. Where by the expression, *from the tower of Syene even unto the border of Cush*, is denoted the whole length of Egypt, from the south end of it, where stood Syene, to the north end, or north-east of it, where it bordered upon Cush or Arabia. This city is said to be situated directly under the tropic of Cancer, and to have had a deep well digged in it by some Astronomers; which, when the sun entered into the sign of Cancer, was totally enlightened with the beams of the sun without any shadow; so perpendicularly or exactly was the body of the sun at that time over the pile or well.

46.
Of Migdol.

Leaving the country of Pathros, let us now return into Egypt more specially so called; and here, towards the end of the Red sea, and on the western shore of it, was situated a city called Migdol, which was one of the cities or towns, wherein the Jews dwelt, that took Jeremiah the prophet along with them into Egypt, as the same prophet informs us, ch. xlv. v. 1. *The word that came to Jeremiah concerning all the Jews which dwell in the land of Egypt, which dwell at Migdol, and at Tahpanhes, and at Noph, and in the country of Pathros.* Where as we have the two general divisions of Egypt plainly intimated, viz. *the land of*

Egypt properly so called, and the *land* or *country* of *Pathros*; so it is plainly intimated, that Migdol, Tahpanhes, and Noph were situated, not in the *country* of *Pathros*, but in the *land* of *Egypt*. And as this has been already shewn to be true, concerning Noph or Memphis, which lay in the northern division of Egypt, somewhat above the parting of the Nile; so it will appear to be true likewise concerning Migdol and Tahpanhes. For that Migdol was situated near the end of the Red sea, on the western shore of it, seems clear from the history of the journeyings of the Israelites out of the land of Egypt. For Exod. xiv. 2. we read, that the last encampment of the Israelites, before they went across the Red sea, was *between Migdol and the sea*. The Seventy Interpreters render this name Magdolus; and since we meet with a city of the very same name in the old Greek historian Herodotus, we need not doubt but that they were one and the same place.

To the north of Migdol, and not far from Pelusium, a celebrated port of Egypt on the Mediterranean sea, lay ^{47.} *Tahpanhes*. ^{Of Tahpanhes.} *Tahpanhes*, or *Tahapanhes*, or *Tahapnehes*, or, as it is in short called by the prophet Isaiah, *Hanes*, Isaiah xxx. 4. For the Hebrew word *Tahapanhes*, or *Tahpanhes*, is by the Seventy Interpreters rendered *Taphnas*, which is easily changed into *Daphnæ* or *Daphne*. Whence it is not to be doubted, but this *Tahpanhes* or *Taphnas* in the sacred history was the same city with that called by Herodotus *Daphnæ Pelusiæ*, as being not far from Pelusium, as Stephanus the geographer expressly informs us. It is expressly said, Jer. xliii. 9. that Pharaoh had an house or palace here; and probably it was a very pleasant place, and for that reason had this name given to it. For it is not unlikely, that this name does literally import somewhat pleasant, beautiful, or agreeable; inasmuch as we find much the like name given to a queen of Egypt, she being named *Tahpenes*, 1 Kings xi. 19, &c. And perhaps it may be a true conjecture, that from this oriental name *Tahpanes*, denoting *pleasant* or *beautiful*, was originally

PART II. derived the word Daphne, used by the Greeks and Latins to denote the like.

48.
Of Sin.

I have already observed that this Tahpanhes was probably seated near Pelusium, of which itself I am to speak next. For among the cities of Egypt, Ezek. xxx. as there is mention made of Tahaphnehes, which without doubt is the same with Tahapanhes, so is there mention made also of Sin, ver. 15, 16. This is rendered by the Seventy Interpreters Sain; and because we find that one of the mouths of the Nile was styled *Ostium Saiticum*, i. e. *the mouth by Sais*, hence some have conjectured, not altogether without ground, that this Sais might be the place denoted by the Hebrew Sin. But Bochart having observed, that the word *Sin* does in the Syrian tongue signify the same that *Pelos* does in the Greek tongue, namely, *dirt*; hence he conjectures, that the Hebrew Sin was rather the same city which the Greeks called Pelusium. And this opinion is confirmed by what the prophet Ezekiel adds concerning Sin, when he styles it, *the strength of Egypt*: for so Pelusium might well be esteemed, as to the east side of Egypt towards the Holy Land; to which the prophets more especially had respect, as is evident from the circumstances of the sacred history. Now Pelusium was thus *the strength of Egypt* on the east side, as being situated on the most eastern channel of the river Nile, and well fortified; whence it is styled by Suidas also, *the key of Egypt*. It is remarkable for being the birth-place of Ptolemy, the famous geographer, and the episcopal see of Isidore, thence surnamed Pelusiotas, whose Epistles are still extant. Out of the ruins hereof arose Damiata, one of the three principal ports of Egypt on the Mediterranean sea, at this present time. Some make a doubt, whether Damiata be not the same with Pelusium, as to situation. Le Bruyn tells us, that the streets of it are *very dirty*; and so it may at least go under the name of Pelusium very properly. The same traveller tells us likewise, that the buildings of it are very ordinary; but

yet it is very populous, and one of the principal cities of all Egypt. A curious traveller will find nothing here considerable, besides some mosques with fine towers. Without the city are to be seen the ruins of an high tower, which formerly served as a light-house for ships; and hard by it, on the same side, is a round tower; and this is all the remains of antiquity to be found here. The Nile runs close by the city. The principal traffic of Damyata consists in rice, which grows thereabouts in great abundance, and is carried into all Turkey.

To the south of Sin, or Pelusium, and on the same stream of the Nile, stood Bubastus, whereby the Seventy Interpreters render the Hebrew name Pibeseth, the name of another city mentioned Ezek. xxx. 17. among the cities of Egypt.

49.

Of Pibeseth, or Bubastus.

And still more to the south, at some distance from the said eastern channel of the Nile, stood the city Heliopolis, i. e. *the city of the Sun*; whence it is called by the prophet Jeremiah, chap. xliii. ver. 13. Bethshemesh, *the house of the Sun*: and because there was a place of this name in the land of Israel, hence that it might be rightly understood, which the prophet spake of after he had said that *Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon should break the images of Bethshemesh*, he adds by way of distinction, *that is in the land of Egypt*. This place is otherwise called in the Hebrew text אֵן or אָן, which may both be read On, though, according to the present reading of the Hebrew text, one is read On, (Gen. xli. 45, &c.) and the other Aven, Ezek. xxx. 17. It is very likely, that the Seventy Interpreters read the words On in both places; forasmuch as in both places they render the Hebrew word alike by Heliopolis. At least it is evident, that, if they read the words differently, On and Aven, yet they looked upon them only as different names of one and the same place; and also that another name of the same place was Bethshemesh, Jer. xliii. 13. which therefore they rendered also by Heliopolis, and not only so, but explained what Heliopolis they meant, by adjoining its other name On. It

50.

Of On, or Aven, or Heliopolis.

PART II. is well known to those who understand the Hebrew language, that the Hebrew word Aven does literally denote *vanity*, and thence is taken in Scripture to denote an *idol*, or idolatrous worship. And hence this city, famous for its idolatrous worship of the Sun, might be called Aven; much as the place first called Bethel by Jacob, on account of God's there appearing to him, was afterwards denoted in the prophecy of Hosea, by the name of Beth-aven, on account of the idolatrous worship there paid to one of the golden calves set up by Jeroboam. And though the Hebrew word אֵוֶן, according to the present received punctuation, is always read Aven, when it denotes *vanity*, or an *idol*, &c. yet it is not improbable, that it might be in the more early times read On, not only because it is read so in the construct form, as the Grammarians call it, but also because there is an appellative word On, according to the present received punctuation of the Hebrew Bible, which has a different signification. And perhaps it was nothing else, that introduced this different pointing or vowelling of the word we are speaking of, but that thereby might be the better distinguished the different significations of it. It was the priest of this On, or Heliopolis, whose daughter was given by Pharaoh in marriage to Joseph, the son of Jacob. And the Jewish historian named Josephus tells us, that this city was given to the Israelites, upon their coming down into Egypt, to dwell there. And this is the more probable, because it lay in or near to the land of Goshen. Certain it is, that in after-ages, with the consent of Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus, King of Egypt, there was a temple built here for the Jews, by Onias the High Priest, then dispossessed of his authority and office by Antiochus. This temple was had in great esteem by the Hellenists, or Jews, who having been born, or having lived, among the Greeks, used the Greek language, and particularly the Greek version of the Septuagint.

51. It has been observed already, that this Heliopolis stood
 Of the land of Goshen, in or near the land of Goshen, or that tract of Egypt,
 or Rameses. which was assigned to the Israelites for to dwell in, and

which is generally supposed to have taken up that tract CHAP. I.
 on the eastern side of Egypt, which lies by the south of
 the eastern channel of the Nile, upon the channel after-
 wards called Trajan's river. It was also called the land
 of Rameses, from the city Rameses, or Raamses, built
 therein by the Israelites, either for a treasure-city, (as it
 is understood by our translators, Exod. i. 11.) or for a de-
 fence against any that should invade the country on that
 side, on which it was usually invaded. By a treasure-city
 seems to be understood chiefly a granary, or repository
 for grain or corn. And these sort of repositories seem to
 have been much in use among the Egyptians, ever since
 the first introducing of them by Joseph. Such as under-
 stand Rameses to have been rather a fortified city, seem to
 be induced thereto on account of its situation, this being
 not so much in the inland part of the country, which
 seems most proper for granaries or store-cities, but rather
 in the outpart of it, and in its eastern border, and so very
 proper for a fortified city.

Besides Rameses, we read, Exod. i. 11. that the Israel-
 ites built for Pharaoh another city, called Pithom, for the
 same end. And we find plain footsteps of this city in the
 ancient historian Herodotus, who mentions a city lying in
 this part of Egypt, and called Patoumos, or Patumus, not
 far from Bubastus.

Before I leave Egypt, I must speak of the river Nile,
 not only the principal river of this country, but celebrated
 in other countries, both anciently and at present. And
 first as to its name. It being not only the principal, but
 in a manner the only river of Egypt, it seems to have
 been, for one or both these reasons, denoted originally by
 no peculiar or proper name, but to have been called only
the River. Hence in the history of Exodus we meet with
 it under no other name. Now the Hebrew word denot-
 ing a river is Nachal, or Nahal, from which is plainly
 made the Greek and Latin word Nilus, and from this our
 English name, Nile. Each of which therefore literally

52.

Of Pithom.

53.

Of the river
Nile, and
first of its
name.

PART II. imports no more than the primitive Hebrew word from which they were derived, namely, *the River*.

54.
The Nile,
otherwise
called Si-
hor, and
why.

In process of time it had another name given it. For Jer. ii. 18. we read thus: *What hast thou to do in the way of Egypt, to drink the waters of Sihor?* where by Sihor is in all probability denoted the Nile; especially if it be considered, that the geographer Dionysius Periegetes expressly tells us, that the Nile was otherwise called Siris by the Ethiopians. Now Siris is a word evidently enough deduced from Sihor. And the reason, why the Nile came to be called Sihor, is well enough supposed to be from the blackness or muddiness of its water, for Sihor in the Hebrew tongue signifies *black*.

55.
The Nile
erroneously
taken to be
the same
with Gi-
hon; and
whence
this error
might
arise.

The Seventy Interpreters render Sihor in this text of Jeremiah by Geon, whence it is imagined that they were of the opinion, that the Gehon, or Gihon, mentioned among the four rivers of Paradise, was the same with the Nile. Certain it is, that the Jewish historian Josephus is of this opinion, perhaps led thereinto by the authority of the Septuagint Version in this place; which also seems to have been the cause of many fathers and interpreters embracing the said opinion. The learned Bishop of Soissons tells us, that the Abyssines are so much of this opinion, that they do not know now-a-days the Nile under any other name than that of Gichon; by an error, adds he, like to that as brought them to say, that the Queen of Sheba had reigned in their country, and that their kings were descended of Solomon and her. But how much soever this opinion, concerning the Gihon being the same river with the Nile, may have obtained, it is sufficiently evident from what has been above delivered, in Part I. chap. i. of the Geography of the Old Testament, that it is a very great error. And therefore, if the Seventy Interpreters were of this opinion, and consequently rendered Sihor in this place of Jeremiah by Geon designedly, as in conformity to their own notion, it is certain they were in a gross mistake. But it is not improbable, that the pre-

sent reading of the Septuagint Version may be corrupted, and that the true original reading, as the forementioned learned Bishop has conjectured, was γήιον, *Geion*, i. e. *earthy*, or *muddy*, which excellently well answers to the import of the Hebrew word *Sihor*. But from γήιον to γήων is a very easy change, and so easily made by transcribers, either through mere negligence, or else as not understanding what to make of the appellative *Geion*, and so purposely changing it into *Geon*, which they knew was the name of one of the rivers of Paradise; by this means corrupting the text, whilst they thought to correct it.

Having said what is most observable in reference to the names of the river Nile, I proceed now to speak of its rise and course, in both which respects it has been very remarkable among the ancients. For as to its rise and course, or spring-head, they were esteemed so far uncertain and unknown, as to become a proverbial saying, used to denote *a thing not to be found out or known*. The Egyptians themselves said that the Nile came from heaven. And old Homer, who is said to have travelled and studied in Egypt, learned this doctrine there, whence he styles the Nile *Diipetes*, i. e. *come from Jupiter*. Now hereby might be meant, that the Nile was made by rain water, which Jupiter is the disperser of, according to the poets; or else that the Nile came from Paradise, according to the opinion above mentioned, which they placed in heaven, not distinguishing the earthly Paradise from the heavenly. That the overflowing of the Nile is occasioned by rain, or melting of snow, in the more southern parts of it, that is in Ethiopia, is generally believed; however it is also, I think, generally believed now-a-days, that the Nile has one or more spring-heads properly so called; though where these be truly situated, is not well agreed on. Le Bruyn has taken the pains to insert into his travels several accounts given in relation hereunto, and not only so, but to compare them together; and at the upshot he says, that it is plain, from the testimonies produced by him, that the Nile arises originally from a

56.

Of the rise
of the Nile,
and its
course.

PART II. spring; that this spring has its rise about twelve degrees on the other side of the Line; that this river is increased by several rivulets that run into it; and that, after it has by a great many windings and turnings crossed through Ethiopia, it at last runs into Egypt.

57. *Of the overflowing of the Nile.* As to the great plenty of its waters, it is certain, adds he, that the melted snow, and great rains, which fall for five months together, viz. from the beginning of April to the end of August, according to the testimony of those who have been upon the place, and which afterwards run into this river, do so swell it, that Ethiopia first, and afterwards Egypt, are laid under water: so that what was at first but a large river, by spreading on both sides over its banks, becomes a little sea or large lake; till fair weather returning in Ethiopia, at the beginning of October, it begins to abate; and the water, which if it staid too long, would hinder their sowing, after it has left behind it a rich mould, discharges itself into the Mediterranean sea.

58. *The remarkable providence of God herein.* And here, as Le Bruyn goes on, we may take notice of the wonderful providence of God, which not only sends at a certain time rains in Ethiopia to moisten Egypt, where it hardly rains at all; but which moreover affords to its mud a fatness, that so far meliorates or enriches the lean and sandy soil of this country, that the husbandmen are obliged, before they sow, to cast sand upon the earth, to correct the excessive fatness of the mud, which the water, when it runs off, has left behind.

59. *As also in other instances.* Another thing remarkable in this providence is this, that, according to the testimony of the natives, at the beginning of June, and for four months after, the north-east winds are sent by the wise Governor of the world, to keep back the waters, which would otherwise run too fast, and so hinder them from throwing themselves into the sea too soon.

60. *Of the mouths of the Nile.* And as the Nile is thus remarkable, on account of its rise and overflowings, so is it farther, on account of the several mouths, whereby it empties itself into the sea, and which were generally reckoned seven by the ancients,

though some of them reckon more. The reason of this difference is probably to be ascribed to the sands damming up some of these mouths, which at other times have been open. At present, Le Bruyn tells us, there are only two or three of the mouths at most which lie open, as far as he could observe, upon going on purpose to take a view of those places. Upon these arms of the Nile ships of great burden may very well ride. That which seemed to him to be the largest is near Rosetto; the other is hard by Damiata. The rest are small, and have not much depth, so that they are at most to be looked upon but as small rivers.

That tract of ground, which is inclosed by the eastern and western branch, into which the Nile divides itself below Memphis, or Old Cairo, was formerly called by the Greeks the Delta, namely from its representing the shape of the Greek letter so called, and thus wrote Δ. For the same reason, the learned Bochart thinks, that this tract is denoted in the book of Psalms, and in the prophecy of Isaiah, by the name of Rahab. For, says he, the Hebrew word Rahab, or Raab, is the same with the Egyptian name Rib, or Riph, whereby to this very day the Delta, or tract lying between the mouths of the Nile, is called, from its resemblance to the shape of a *pear*, called by the Egyptians Rib. Hence in the very heart or middle of this tract there was a *nomus* or district, named Athribis, i. e. *the heart of the pear*.

But to return again to the Nile itself; the Egyptians taking it for Gihon, one of the rivers of Paradise, hence, as the ingenious Huet, Bishop of Soissons, observes, they set no bounds to the worship they offered to it. They believed its spring to be sacred; they adored and invoked it, as the greatest of Gods, and that under the name of Osiris, (a name derived from Sihor, as was Siris,) and under the name of Orus and Jupiter, they instituted in its honour the most solemn of their feasts, and consecrated to it some priests, and, last of all, asserted that it descended from heaven. And the Turks and Jews, adds the same learned

CHAP. I.

61.

Of Rahab,
or the Delta
in Egypt.

62.

Nile wor-
shipped by
the Egyp-
tians.

PART II. person, believed them on their words, without any further inquiry, and suffered themselves to be persuaded, that the water thereof was holy, because the spring of it was unknown to them. He adds, that from Sihor came not only Siris, but also Sirius, which last, as well as the first, is a name of the Nile, and has also been given to the Dog-Star, because the overflowing of the Nile begins in the dog-days. But, by the account of travellers, it seems to *begin* somewhat more early; and therefore it should be rather said, that the overflowings of the Nile fall in with the dog-days, and perhaps then are at the highest.

63. It has not many fish. Le Bruyn tells us, that this river has not many fish in it, whether this is to be attributed to its muddy waters, or to the havoc which the crocodiles, and other monsters of this river, make of the fish. However, these creatures keeping for the most part higher up the river, and being seldom or never to be seen about Cairo, this cannot be the reason of the scarcity of fish, at least about Cairo. But lower, the Nile is full of porpoises.

64. Of the water of the Nile. He adds, that the water of it is very wholesome to drink, and the natives can tell how to purge it in a little time from its mud, by the means of almond-paste, or some such thing. It likewise purges itself very well, by being put into certain small earthen pitchers, which was Le Bruyn's common practice. One can hardly meet with any other water in all Egypt; which is the reason why almost all the cities, towns, and hamlets are built along this river, which would render it very pleasant to go up and down, if the country was not so ruined, nor its inhabitants so poor and wicked.

65. Of the papyrus, from which came the name paper. It must not be omitted, that on the banks of this river grew that sedgy weed, called *papyrus*, from whence was derived the name of *paper*; that on which the Egyptians then wrote being made of this weed. The Egyptians, as Heylin observes, divided this weed into thin flakes, into which it naturally parts; then laying them on a table, and moistening them with the glutinous water of the Nile, they pressed them together, and afterwards dried

them in the sun. By means of which invention, books CHAP. I.
being easier to be transcribed and preserved than formerly,
Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, made his famous
library at Alexandria; of which I have spoken in my Geo-
graphy of the New Testament, Part II. chap. vi. §. 6.

To what is there said, I shall add here, that this Pto-
lemy, understanding how Attalus, King of Pergamus in
the Lesser Asia, by the benefit of this Egyptian paper,
strove to exceed him in that kind of magnificence, viz. of
a noble and excellent library, he prohibited the carrying
of this sort of *paper* out of Egypt. Hereupon Attalus in-
vented the use of *parchment* to write upon, made of the
skins of calves and sheep. These materials for writing upon
were, from the skins of which they were made, called *mem-*
branæ, and from the place where they were invented, *per-*
gamena, from which is moulded our English word *parch-*
ment. This being found much better for writing than the
Egyptian *papyrus*, or *paper*, hence this last wore out of use.
In place whereof succeeded the *paper* used now-a-days,
made of *rags*, the authors of which excellent invention, our
ancestors have not taken care to preserve the memory of.

Before the use of these papers and parchments was first
found out, or made known, Dr. Heylin observes, that
there were three ways of writing among the ancients.
First, on the inward side of the bark of a tree, which in
Latin is called *liber*; and hence a book came to have the
name of *liber*. Secondly, on tablets framed out of the
main body of a tree, which being called *caudex*, gave the
Latins occasion to call a book *codex*. Thirdly, they used
to cover these tablets over with wax, and thereon to write
what they had to signify; from whence a letter-carrier
was termed *tabellarius*. The instrument wherewith they
wrote was a sharp-pointed iron, which they called *stylus*;
whence the word is now-a-days taken to signify the pe-
culiar kind of *phrase* or *expression*, which any writer uses;
as when we say, such a writer has a *good style*, or *bad*
style, i. e. expresses his thoughts well or ill, smoothly or
harshly, &c. It is also to be noted, that they used some-

66.

Of the in-
vention and
name of
parchment.

67.

Other ob-
servations
concerning
the names
liber, *codex*,
style, *leaf* of
a book, &c.

PART II. times to write on *leaves*, and that the Sibyl oracles being so written and scattered abroad, had the name of *Sibyllæ Folia*; and that from thence we keep to this day the phrase of *a leaf of paper*. Add hereto, that the ancients being used not to *bind* their books, as we do now-a-days, but to *roll* them *up together*; hence a book came to be denoted by the word *volume*, i. e. a thing *rolled up*; and hence come also those expressions still used among us, when we say, a book *is of such a volume*, i. e. size or bigness; or that a book *makes so many volumes*; or the *first, second, &c. volume* of a book. I cannot doubt, but the reader will easily pardon this digression, concerning the several materials used for to write upon, not only because I had a very fair occasion given me to take notice of them, but also because it cannot but be very satisfactory and pleasant to him, to be informed in these particulars of so common and great use.

68. I have above observed, that though Bochart understands
 Of the city Thebæ in Lower Egypt, by Amon-No, yet some under-
 Alexandria. stand thereby Alexandria, as the Chaldee Paraphrast, &c. not but that these knew Alexandria to be so called, as being built by Alexander the Great, and so many ages after the No, or Amon-No, mentioned in Scripture. But they suppose, that there was an old city, which stood, in the times of the Old Testament, in the place where Alexandria now stands; and that the said old city was No, which in process of time being fallen to decay, Alexander the Great, approving the situation of the place, made choice of it to build there the noble city, from him called Alexandria. But however this be, it is likely that this Alexandria is the city mentioned under that name in the Acts of the Apostles. For which reason I have in my Geography of the New Testament, Part II. chap. vi. §. 6. said something of it. And it having been a very considerable place, and still containing some excellent monuments of antiquity, it may not be unacceptable to give the reader a short account thereof here, as to such particulars as are not mentioned in my other treatise.

I shall begin with Pompey's pillar, so called, as being supposed to be erected by Julius Cæsar, as a monument of the victory he had gained over Pompey. Thevenot says, that it is the finest piece of antiquity that has withstood the rage of time; and that the body of the pillar is one entire piece of *granite*, so high that the world cannot match it, being eighteen canes high. Le Bruyn gives us its height more exactly, telling us, that, upon measuring it, he found it to be fourscore and ten feet high; and withal to be as much as six men could clasp round, which is, according to the measure he took of it, thirty-eight feet thick. He tells us, that some took it to be *granite*; others to be a sort of cement, which in time is turned into stone: but he himself looked upon it to be true free-stone, as far, at least, as he could discern by the experiment he made of it. And therefore, adds he, it is a wonder, how a stone of this bigness could be raised. On the top is a fine chapter, proportionable to the bigness of the pillar, but made of a distinct piece of stone. The pillar stands upon a square pedestal, seven or eight feet high, and each face about fourteen feet over. This pedestal is fixed on a square base, about half a foot high, and twenty broad, made of several stones cemented together. The whole stands upon an eminence or little hill, about two hundred paces from the town; and the advantage of the eminence it stands upon makes it to be seen a great way off.

The walls of this city are, says Le Bruyn, admirable; and though they are in great part demolished, yet they still appear so stately, that there is none in the world to be compared to them. The large square towers, which are built along the wall for its defence, and are two hundred paces distant from one another, cannot be viewed without admiration. But how much soever the outside of them may attract and please the eyes of beholders, their inside is not less worthy of their curiosity. They are all built in a different model; but yet have all of them two stories one over another, each story supported with pillars, that run up in the middle; and do all agree in this, that they

CHAP. I.

69.

Of Pompey's Pillar.

70.

Of the walls of Alexandria.

PART II. have each of them a well or cistern. Each of these towers has a platform on the top, of above twenty paces every way, and could contain a great many men in arms; by which means this city anciently could doubtless make a vigorous defence. For the walls of these towers were a great many feet thick; and quite round them were port-holes, very large within, but which grew straiter and straiter as they run out.

71. Here are also to be seen the remains of Cleopatra's palace, which was on the sea shore. By the stately chambers and apartments, the ruins whereof still remain, it is but reasonable to suppose, that it was a very lofty and magnificent building.

72. Le Bruyn says, he never saw finer ruins in any place else. For on all sides one meets with some or other. The beauty of the rest may be guessed at, by two represented in Le Bruyn's Travels, p. 170, and numbered 103 and 104.

73. As to the present state of this city, it is within almost wholly ruined, having but a few houses, that are inhabited. There is still to be seen St. Mark's church, in possession of the Christian Coptes or Egyptians. Anciently this was a very large church, but at present it is no more than a little round chapel. They still shew part of the pulpit, wherein they pretend that St. Mark preached. It does still retain almost its form, and on the outside it is faced with stones of divers colours. The body of St. Mark, the first bishop of Alexandria, is said to have been deposited in this church, and to have lain there, till some Venetians, returning from the Holy Land, carried it along with them to Venice, where is a famous church, called St. Mark's church.

74. There is likewise to be seen in this church a piece of a picture, which they pretend to have been painted by St. Luke. It represents St. Michael the Archangel, and is a little more than an half-length, with a sword in one hand, altogether after the antique fashion, without any art, not to say any thing of the mixture of the colours, of which there is too great a variety.

There is also in this city the church of St. Catharine, CHAP. I.
 where is still preserved the pillar on which they say she 75.
 was beheaded; or rather, which preserves the memory of The church
 the place where she was beheaded. More will be said of of St. Ca-
 this saint, in the description of mount Sinai. There are tharine.
 in this church several pieces of painting, some of which
 were very well designed.

And thus I have at length gone through most, if not The con-
 all, the places of Egypt, that occur in the sacred history, clusion.
 excepting Succoth, Pi-hahiroth, and Baal-zephon, men-
 tioned in the account given us of the encampments of the
 Israelites, when they went out of Egypt. And these will
 be taken notice of in the following chapter, as treating of
 the said encampments of the Israelites.

CHAP. II.

Of the Journeyings of the Israelites, from their setting forth from Rameses in Egypt, to their encamping near the river Jordan, on the east side thereof.

The introduction.

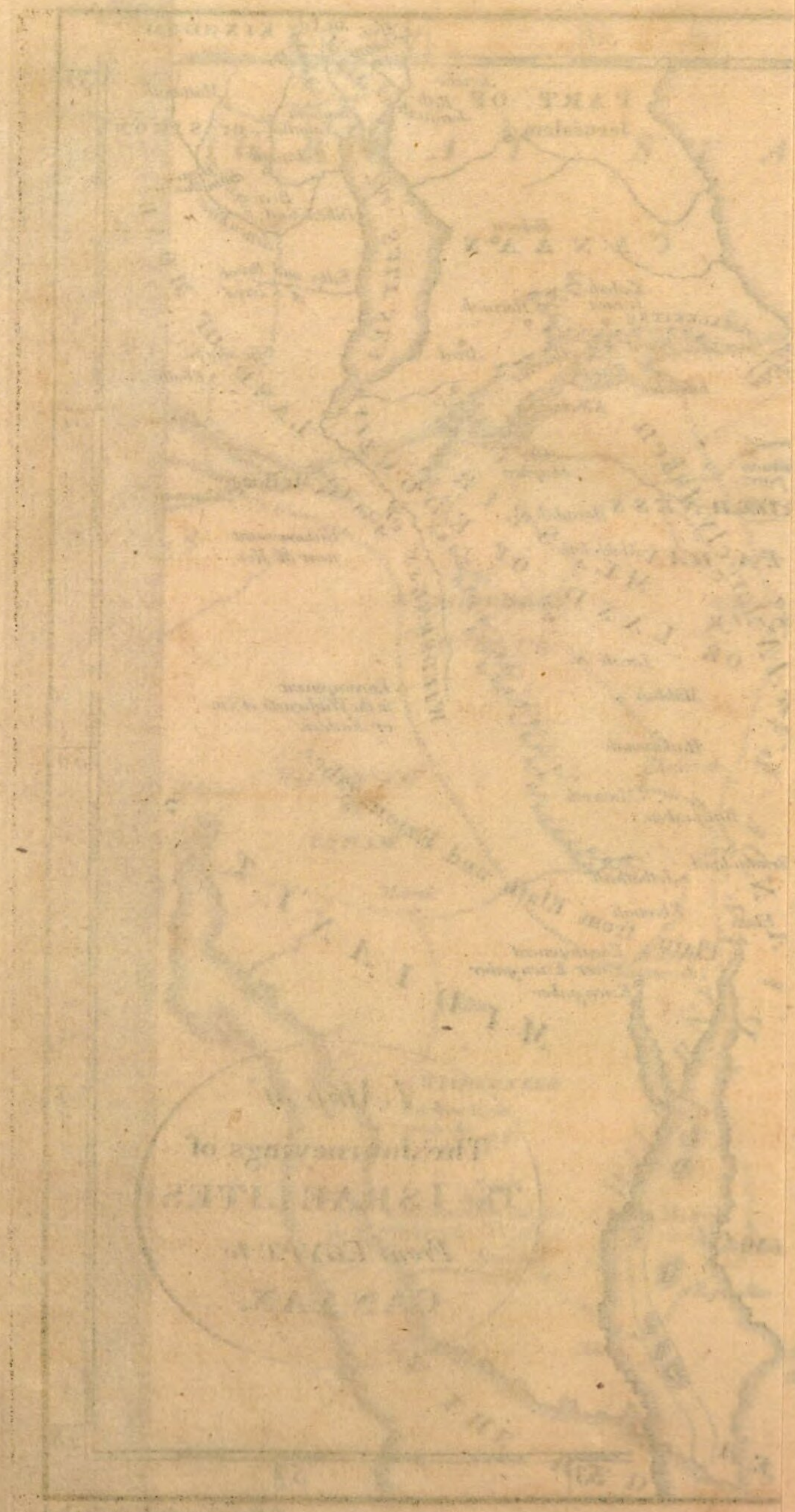
HAVING spoken of such places in the land of Egypt, as are mentioned in Scripture, I shall now accompany the Israelites in their journeyings from Egypt to the river Jordan. And, as it seems proper to contain all their journeyings in one chapter, so (forasmuch as their journeyings lay through different countries, and also forasmuch as some particular places occur therein, which deserve more particular notice; for these reasons) it seems expedient to distinguish this chapter into the several sections following.

 S E C T. I.

Of the Journeyings of the Israelites from Rameses to the Red Sea.

1.
The Israelites permitted by Pharaoh and the Egyptians to begin their journeyings out of Egypt.

AFTER that the other signs, which God had wrought in the sight of Pharaoh and the Egyptians, and the other plagues he had brought upon them, proved ineffectual, the divine Providence was as it were forced, in the last place, to bring upon them that most dreadful plague, whereby *all the first-born in the land of Egypt died, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat upon the throne, even unto the first-born of the woman-servant that was behind the mill, i. e. the woman-slave, who was made to turn the mill, which she did, by thrusting forward the part of the mill she held, and so coming herself behind or after it.* Now, either these mills were in prisons, or else such as



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worked at them in the day-time were at night kept in prison for security: whence the death of all the first-born in Egypt, from the highest to the lowest, expressed as above, Exod. xi. 5. is otherwise expressed, Exod. xi. 29. thus: *At midnight the Lord smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne, unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon; and all the first-born of cattle. Hereupon there was a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, such as there never was any like it, nor shall there be any like it for the future: for there was not an house of the Egyptians, where there was not one dead. Hereupon Pharaoh presently called for Moses and Aaron, and gave them not only leave, but command, to get forth from amongst his people, they and the children of Israel, with their flocks and their herds. And the Egyptians were urgent upon the Israelites, to send them out of the land in haste.* Exod. xii. 30—33. and xi. 6.

Hereupon the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand on foot that were men, besides children. Exod. xii. 37. As for Rameses, it has been already observed, that it is doubtless the same with Raamses, mentioned Exod. i. 11. and there said to be built by the Israelites for Pharaoh. It stood in the land of Goshen, whence the same is otherwise called the land of Rameses, as has also been observed. What is here to be further remarked, is this; that either the whole body of the Israelites assembled first together at the city Rameses, and, being so come together, from thence began to set forth in one body for to go out of Egypt: or else that the journeyings of the Israelites were begun to be reckoned from hence, because Moses and the chief of the Israelites set out from hence, the rest meeting them on the way, as was most convenient for them.

Their first journey, or motion, was from Rameses to Succoth, a place so named from the Israelites then pitching their tents there; the word Succoth in the Hebrew tongue denoting *tents*, as hath been already observed in reference to Succoth between Jordan and the brook Jab-

CHAP. II.
SECT. I.

2.

The Israel-
ites set
forth from
Rameses.

3.

They come
to Succoth.

PART II. bok, so named on the like occasion, namely from Jacob's pitching his tents there. The Succoth in Egypt, as being the next station of the Israelites, could not be far from Rameses, in the way from it to the wilderness of the Red sea. For *God led not the Israelites by the way of the land of the Philistines, though that was near; (i. e. the nearest way into Canaan;) for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent of their coming out of Egypt when they see war, and return to Egypt. But God led the people about, by the way of the wilderness of the Red sea.* Exod. xiii. 17, 18.

4. Thence to Etham. Accordingly we read next, Exod. xiii. 20. that the *Israelites took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness;* namely aforementioned, as lying on the Red sea. Hence the situation of Etham is plainly determined to be not far from the Red sea, in the extremity or confines of Egypt and Arabia Petræa, or Stony Arabia. And from hence we find, Num. xxxiii. 8. that part of the wilderness of the Red sea, which lay next to Egypt, to be peculiarly distinguished by the name of the *wilderness of Etham.*

5. From Etham to Pi-hahiroth, by the Red sea. The Israelites being come to Etham, designed to have continued their journey directly forward, that is eastward, and so to have immediately entered into the wilderness, somewhat north of the Red sea. But the divine Providence, to bring about his designs of making his name still more glorious, Isaiah lxiii. 12—14. by miraculously leading his people through the Red sea, and by overthrowing therein Pharaoh and all the host of the Egyptians, gave express orders to Moses, that the Israelites should not continue their journey directly forward to the east, but should *turn again to the south-west, and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon;* here they were ordered to *encamp by the sea.*

6. Of Pi-hahiroth. As for Pi-hahiroth, which in our English and some other translations is rendered as one proper name, it is rendered by the Seventy Interpreters, Exod. xiv. 2, 9. as two appellative words; but Num. xxxiii. 7, 8. Pi is rendered as an appellative, (though differently, viz. ver. 7. by

στόμα, *mouth*, and ver. 8. together with the adjoining pre-
position, ἀπέναντι, *over-against*;) and Hahiroth is in both
verses rendered as a proper name, Eiroth; the article *ha*
being omitted. Hence some are of opinion, that by the
Hebrew words Pi-hahiroth, is to be understood a *mouth*
or narrow passage between two mountains, called Chiroth
or Eiroth, and lying not far from the bottom of the west-
ern coast of the Red sea; before which mouth or narrow
passage the children of Israel encamped.

Migdol has been taken notice of in the foregoing chap-
ter, where it was observed, that it is in all probability the
Magdolus mentioned by the old Greek historian Herodo-
tus, especially since the Seventy Interpreters render it by
the very same word. It is evident, from what is said of it
in this encampment of the Israelites, that it lay near the
Red sea.

Baal-zephon is thought by many learned men to have
been the name of an idol, which was esteemed to keep the
borders of the country, and to hinder slaves from making
their escape out of it. The word Baal does in the Hebrew
tongue signify Lord, and hence is the name generally ap-
plied to the eastern idols. The other word, Zephon, is
thought to be derived from the Hebrew radix Zaphah,
signifying *to watch, spy*, and the like. Hence it is con-
jectured, that this idol had its temple on the top of the
adjacent mountains; and that it is particularly taken no-
tice of by the sacred historian, to shew how unable it was
(whatever opinion the Egyptians might have of it to the
contrary) to hinder the Israelites from going out of Egypt.
And thus we have followed the Israelites from Rameses to
the coast of the Red sea: their passing the same, and what
else is requisite to be taken notice of in relation to the Red
sea, shall make the subject of the following distinct sec-
tion.

CHAP. II.
SECT. I.

7.
Of Migdol.

8.
Of Baal-
zephon.

SECT. II.

Of the Israelites passing through the Red Sea, and of other particulars relating to the same Sea.

1. The Israelites pass through the Red sea on dry ground, but the Egyptians are drowned.

THE sacred historian tells us, *Exod. xiv. 9, &c.* that Pharaoh with his army *overtook the Israelites encamping by the sea, beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-zephon*; and that when the Israelites saw the *Egyptians marching after them, and drawing nigh to them, they were sore afraid*; insomuch that they began to mistrust the providence of God, there being no visible way left them to escape; as being shut in on all sides, either by the wilderness, or by the mountains, or by the sea, or by the army of the Egyptians. But God now quickly began to shew them his almighty power, and that he is able to save in the most imminent and greatest danger. He directs Moses to bid the children of Israel to go forward, on that side where the sea was, and consequently that way which they, probably, least of all thought to have found deliverance in. Withal he directed *Moses to lift up his rod, and stretch out his hand over the sea*: whereupon the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon dry ground; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left. And the Egyptians pursued after them into the midst of the sea: but Moses, upon God's command, stretching forth his hand again over the sea, the sea returned to its strength, and the waters covered the chariots, and horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh, that came into the sea: there remained not so much as one of them. Thus the Lord saved Israel out of the hand of the Egyptians. *Exod. xiv. 15—30.*

2. The Red sea called

On account of this miraculous passage of the Israelites, the Red sea has been famous in all succeeding ages, among

such as have been acquainted with the sacred Scriptures, CHAP. II.
 or have any other ways had notice of this wonderful and SECT. II.
 so memorable transaction. It will therefore be proper to insist a little on this so celebrated sea, and to lay before the reader such particulars as relate thereunto, and deserve peculiar notice. It is then observable, that the name given to this sea in the Hebrew text, and consequently its most ancient name known to us, is יַם-סוּף *Jam-Suph*, i. e. *the Weedy sea*, so called from the abundance of sea-weed growing there; which is taken notice of by several Heathen writers, as Diodorus, Agatharchides, Artemidorus in Strabo, &c. whose testimonies are cited at large by the learned Bochart: the sum of them is this; that the Egyptian *Ichthyophagi* (i. e. such Egyptians as, living near the Red sea, feed chiefly on the fish they catch therein) did dwell in huts, made of fishes ribs, covered with sea-weed: nay, that there are in those parts great quantities of sea-weed heaped up together like a mountain; which in process of time is become so very hard, that the forementioned people dig themselves holes or caves in the same, wherein they dwell. But what is more peculiarly remarkable, the forecited authors tell us expressly, that the Red sea looks of a *green* colour, by reason of the abundance of sea-weed and moss that grows therein. Indeed there is one place in Diodorus^a, whence we may observe, that the passage of the Israelites through the Red sea was preserved in memory even among the neighbouring Heathens, and by a constant tradition delivered down to their posterity for many ages. Diodorus's words are to this effect: "Among the neighbouring *Ichthyophagi* there is an old tradition, delivered down from their ancestors, that formerly the sea parting, and the waters falling back, some on one side, and some on the other opposite to it, the whole gulf, i. e. as to its breadth, was dry, and the bottom of it appeared of a green colour; but some time after, the sea returned again into its usual place." As it is not to be reasonably doubt-

^a Lib. iii. p. 208. Edit. Wesseling.

PART II. ed, but this tradition is to be understood of the miraculous passage of the Israelites through this sea; so we may from this and the other testimonies observe, not only the reason why this sea was called by the Hebrews Jam-Suph, or the Weedy sea, but also the falseness of that opinion, which will have the said sea to be called otherwise the Red sea, from the red colour of its waters, or of the sand at the bottom of it. And what is above said by the Hea-then writers concerning the bottom of this sea appearing of a green colour, is confirmed by one who may be called a sacred writer, viz. the author of the book called the Wisdom of Solomon. For herein, chap. xix. 7. we read thus: *Where water stood before, dry land appeared; and out of the Red sea, a way without impediment; and out of the violent stream, a green field.*

3.
The Red
sea, why so
called.

Proceed we therefore, in the next place, to inquire, what was the true reason of this appellation. And this I have already briefly mentioned in the first Part, chap. i. and shall here insist somewhat longer upon it. It is then well known, that it is usual for seas to take their names from the countries they lie upon, as the British sea, the Irish sea, the Spanish sea, the German sea, &c. Now it is very probable, that mount Seir, or the mountainous tract denoted in Scripture by that name, and given by God to Esau, the eldest son of Isaac, for a possession, extended so far southward as to come near the Red sea. Nay, it is certain, that as Ezion-Geber stood on the Red sea, so it did appertain to the kings of this mountainous tract, or the kings of Edom. For Esau being nick-named Edom, i. e. *Red*, on account of his selling his birth-right to his younger brother Jacob, for some *red* pottage; hence the mountainous country, that he and his descendants were possessed of, is called in Scripture the Land of Edom, or simply Edom. And it is not to be doubted, but that this was the name, whereby it was generally denoted and known in those early times. Now some of the ancient Greeks altered the Hebrew word Edom no more than to give it the mode of their own language; and so,

preserving the Hebrew radicals, turned it into Idumæa. CHAP. II.
SECT. II.
 But others of them, coming to understand that Edom in the Hebrew tongue denoted *red*, hence they rendered not the word itself, but its signification; and so, instead of Idumæa, called the country of Edom by the name of Erythræa; or (which comes to the same) denoted Edom himself, the father of the Edomites, by the name of Erythræus; the Greek word Erythrus denoting *red*, as does the Hebrew word Edom. Now Edom himself, or his posterity, becoming famous by reason of their great power and strength, or at least by reason of the great success God vouchsafed to give them in those early times; and so this country not only lying upon the sea we are speaking of, but also the Edomites being probably for some time masters of this sea; hence it came to be denoted by the name of the Idumean or Erythrean sea. And, because it seems to have been most frequently denoted among the Greeks by the name of the Erythrean sea, hence the Latins, as well knowing the signification of the common Greek word Erythrus, came to give it the name of Rubrum Mare, and we, from them, the name of the Red sea. Some of the Greek writers have themselves taken notice that it was called the Erythrean sea, from a certain famous and potent king, named Erythræus; and not from any redness of its water, or of its sand, it being no redder than any other sea, in either of these respects, as Thevenot assures us, who saw it; and tells us withal, that, as he went to mount Sinai, he did indeed observe some mountains all over red, upon the sides of it; though, as he adds, he thought not, that this was the reason of the common name given to this sea, but much the same as I have above mentioned.

He truly observes further, that the name of the Erythrean sea is in some authors extended beyond the gulf of Arabia, comprehending all the sea between the eastern coasts of Afric and the Indies. And the reason hereof may be the same with what I have already intimated, namely, the great power of Edom and his posterity in the more

4.
The Red sea, how far extended in its largest acceptance.

PART II. early times, and consequently the great fame he had through all the adjoining parts of Arabia, the southern and eastern parts whereof were washed by the Erythrean sea, in its larger acceptation, as well as its western coast by the Red sea properly so called. And in the larger acceptation it is, that the gulf of Persia (which lies on the eastern coast of Arabia, as the gulf of Arabia does on its western coast) is sometimes denoted by the name of Sinus Erythræus, or Mare Erythræum, i. e. the Erythrean gulf or sea. And probably this is the Red sea denoted by Origen, when he saith, that, among all the Indian pearls, those of the Red sea are of the greatest value; as was observed, Part I. chap. i. §. 12.

5.
This sea
called by
the Arabs
Buhr el
Calzem,
i. e. the sea
of drowning.

Thevenot further observes, that the Red sea (so called in Scripture, at least in the Greek, Latin, and other European versions of it, that is, the gulf of Arabia) is by the Arabians themselves called Buhr el Calzem, i. e. the sea of Clysma; because, says he, of the town named Clysma, which was built heretofore at the most northern point of that sea. But I find it placed by geographers, not at the northern point, but a little more south, on the west coast of the sea, and much about the place where the Israelites are supposed to have passed from the western or Egyptian coast of this sea, to the eastern or Arabian coast. And indeed, if it be considered, that the word Clysma may denote a *drowning* or *overwhelming with water*, it may not be improbable, that the town built in this place might have such a name imposed on it, in memory of the Egyptians being *drowned* in the sea, which they went into, as did the Israelites, in this place. And in like manner the Arabs may call this sea Buhr el Calzem, i. e. *the sea of drowning* or *overwhelming*, in memory of the same signal judgment of God upon Pharaoh and his army. It is agreed upon by all, that this sea grows narrower and narrower, the more northward it runs. And Thevenot tells us, that for five days that he kept along the coast of it going to mount Sinai, he could not observe it to be any where above eight or nine miles over.

SECT. III.

Of the Journeyings of the Israelites from the Red Sea, till they came to Mount Sinai, with a Description of the said Mount.

WE read Exod. xv. 22. that *Moses brought Israel from the Red sea, and they went out into the wilderness of Shur, and they went three days in the wilderness.* And Num. xxxiii. 8. we read, that the children of Israel *passed through the midst of the sea into the wilderness, and went three days journey in the wilderness of Etham.* From comparing these two texts together, it is evident, that by the wilderness of Shur, and the wilderness of Etham, must be understood one and the same wilderness. Of Shur there has been frequent occasion to make mention, in the first Part; and it has been there observed, that by this name is denoted in Scripture all the western part of Stony Arabia. Etham is mentioned before in the first section of this chapter, as being the second place where the Israelites encamped after they set forth from Rameses. It lay not far from the Red sea, *in the edge of the wilderness*, Exod. xiii. 20, to which therefore it gave name. If there was any difference between the wilderness of Shur and that of Etham, it seems to have been only this, that they differ one from the other, as a whole from its part. As Shur seems to have been the general name of all that part of Arabia Petraea that lay next to Egypt, so by the wilderness of Shur was probably denoted all the desert tract thereof: whereas only part of this desert tract, namely so much as lay nearest to Etham, was peculiarly called the wilderness of Etham. It is also further observable, that from what the Scripture saith concerning the Israelites passing out of the Red sea into the wilderness of Shur or Etham, it must follow, that the Israelites did pass the Red sea not far from the very bottom or north end of it; for-

1.
Of the wil-
derness of
Shur and
Etham.

PART II. asmuch as there it was that Shur and Etham were situated.

2. The place where the Israelites are now-a-days said to come out of the Red sea. Thevenot tells us, that the place where the Israelites are supposed, by the inhabitants of the country, to have come out of the Red sea, is at present called Corondal; and that they say, over-against it the sea is always tempestuous about the place where Pharaoh and the Egyptians were drowned. But indeed, the place where the Israelites came out of the sea, seems to have been rather more north, or nearer the bottom of the gulf.

3. Of Marah. Having gone three days in the wilderness, and found no water, the Israelites came at length to a place where was water; but it was so bitter, that they could not at first drink of it: whence the place was named Marah, which word in the Hebrew language signifies *bitterness*. But upon Moses praying unto the Lord, *the Lord shewed him a tree, or sort of wood, which when he had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet.* Exod. xv. 23—25. The son of Sirach, the author of that excellent book called Ecclesiasticus, is plainly of opinion, that this alteration was made by the natural virtue of the wood; whence beginning chap. xxxviii. with the honour and esteem due to a physician, he adds, ver. 5. *The Lord has created medicines out of the earth; and he that is wise will not abhor them. Was not the water made sweet with wood, that the virtue thereof might be known?* I am inclined to think, that this may be the place which Thevenot takes notice of, when he tells us, that in his second day's journey from Suez, they came to a place, where they found several waters, which they call Ain el Mouse, i. e. *the wells of Moses*; or else they may be the wells of Elim, where the Israelites encamped next, of which in the next paragraph.

4. Of Elim. From Marah the Israelites came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm-trees: and they encamped there by the waters. Exod. xv. 27. As some commentators think, that by the *tree*, which was put into the waters of Marah, was denoted the cross of Christ, which is able to sweeten the most bitter afflictions

to truly pious souls; so they suppose that the number of the twelve wells here mentioned at Elim did allude, not only to the twelve tribes of Israel, but also to the twelve Apostles of Christ; and that the seventy palm-trees did allude, not only to the seventy Elders of the Israelites, mentioned Exod. xxiv. and Num. xi. but also to the seventy Disciples of our blessed Saviour, mentioned Luke x. But however this be, the place where the Israelites were now encamped seems to have been esteemed as a very pleasant and fruitful place, at least in comparison of the desert and barren parts about it. Insomuch that some learned men are of opinion, that this is the place particularly taken notice of by Agatharchides Gnidius in his treatise concerning the Red sea, and by Diodorus, lib. iii. and by Strabo, lib. xvi. We meet in Tacitus and Plutarch with a story, that the Jews being on a certain time ready to perish with thirst, springs of water were discovered to them by some (tame or wild) asses. Which story, Bochart thinks, took its rise from hence: that Josephus calls this place Elim by the name of Ilim, which word in the Syrian language denotes *the foals of asses, or asses colts*.

Thevenot tells us, that these twelve wells are now-a-days shewn to travellers, in or near to a garden of the monks of Tor, which is a small place, but has a good harbour for ships, lying on the Red sea. But as this writer plainly confounds the wells of Elim with the waters of Marah; so it seems probable, from comparing the sacred history and the account of his travels, that Elim lay to the west or north-west of Tor; and that rather the encampment of the Israelites by the Red sea (Num. xxxiii. 10.) was near Tor.

From Elim the Israelites *came unto the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai*. Exod. xvi. 1. But Num. xxxiii. where the sacred historian does professedly give an account of the several journeys of the Israelites, we are informed, ver. 10, 11. that *they removed from Elim, and encamped by the Red sea; and they removed from the Red sea, and encamped in the wilderness of Sin*. Whence

CHAP. II.
SECT. III.

5.

The place
now-a-days
shewn for
Elim.

6.

Of the en-
campment
by the Red
sea.

PART II.

it is not to be doubted, but that the encampment by the Red sea, mentioned in this last place, is omitted in the former of Exodus, because nothing worth taking notice of happened there. This encampment seems to have been either in the plain, wherein stands the little sea-port town, called Tor, or else in the plain or valley near to the sea, and mentioned by Thevenot, as lying at some distance before one comes to the plain or valley of Tor.

7.
Of the wilderness of Sin.

As to the wilderness of Sin, which the Israelites came into, upon their decamping this second time from the Red sea, the forecited text of Exodus tells us, that it lay between Elim and Sinai. But now the Israelites, in their going from Elim to the wilderness of Sin, making an encampment by the Red sea, it hence seems probable, that either the Israelites were obliged to wind their course round some mountain that came in their way, and hindered them from going directly forward, or else that some bay or creek of the Red sea came up further into land in these parts, or both, as is expressed in the map hereunto belonging. During the Israelites' stay in this wilderness of Sin, it was, that God first sent them manna; which the divine Providence continued to do, *for forty years, till they came to the borders of the land of Canaan.* Exod. xvi. 35. Here also it was that God sent quails to eat, ver. 11—13. Thevenot says, that the plain of Tor is called in Scripture *the desert of Sin*: but this seems not likely for several reasons; particularly because the encampment in the wilderness of Sin is expressly said in Scripture to be after the encampment by the Red sea.

8.
Encampments between the wilderness of Sin and Rephidim.

Out of the wilderness of Sin the Israelites took their journey, and encamped at Dophkah: and they departed from Dophkah, and encamped in Alush; and they removed from Alush, and encamped at Rephidim. Num. xxxiii. 12—14. Now none of the stations or encampments here mentioned, between the wilderness of Sin and Rephidim, are taken notice of by Moses in the book of Exodus; and that in all probability for the reasons already mentioned, viz. because nothing remarkable fell out in these stations.

But at Rephidim there fell out several remarkable occurrences. For the Israelites being come hither, and there being no water for them to drink, according to their usual way they presently murmured against Moses: who, applying himself thereupon to God by prayer, was ordered to take in his hand the rod, wherewith he was wont to work miracles, and to go and smite the rock Horeb; upon which water should come out of the rock for the people to drink. *And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel. And he called the name of the place Massah, (i. e. temptation,) and Meribah, (i. e. chiding or strife,) because of the chiding of the children of Israel, and because they tempted the Lord, saying, Is the Lord among us, or not?* Exod. xvii. 1—7. Another remarkable occurrence that fell out at Rephidim was the coming of the Amalekites, and fighting with the Israelites. *But Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword. And the Lord said unto Moses—I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven. And Moses built an altar, and called the name of it JEHOVAH-nissi, i. e. The Lord my banner.* Exod. xvii. 8—16. It has been before observed in the first Part, that Amalek was a descendant of Esau, namely, the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau, and so Esau's grandson. I shall only observe here farther, that his descendants settled in the parts adjoining to mount Seir, where Esau dwelt, and that to the west or north-west of it, at least at first. What more is requisite to be said concerning them, shall be taken notice of when we come to speak of the great defeat given them by Saul.

It will be more proper here to take more peculiar notice of the occurrence first mentioned above, namely of the rock smitten by Moses, and from which water gushed out thereupon. This rock is expressly said in the sacred text to be in Horeb. But now it is evident, from several places of Scripture, that mount Horeb is either an adjoining mountain to mount Sinai, or that they are only two different heads or risings of one and the same mountain.

CHAP. II.
SECT. III.

9.
Of Rephi-
dim.

10.
Of mount
Horeb and
Sinai.

PART II. For what is in one passage of Scripture related as done at Horeb, is in another passage of Scripture related as done at mount Sinai, or at least in the wilderness of Sinai. And as, in the course of the journeyings of the Israelites, this miraculous bringing forth of water out of the rock in Horeb, is related to have been done at Rephidim, from whence the Israelites decamping, pitched next in the wilderness of Sinai, (Exod. xix. 1, 2.) so after they were there pitched or encamped, we read, Exod. xxxiii. 6. that the *children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments by mount Horeb*; namely, because there it was that they made the calf, as the Psalmist expressly tells us, Psalm cvi. 19. And the same is affirmed by Moses, Deut. ix. 8, 9. *Also in Horeb ye provoked the Lord to wrath,—when I was gone up into the mount (i. e. mount Sinai) to receive the tables of the covenant, &c.* Nay, the covenant, which God made with the Israelites at mount Sinai, is also said to be made with them in Horeb; and accordingly the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments, which are set down Exod. xx. as delivered from mount Sinai, are repeated, Deut. v. as delivered from mount Horeb.

11. Hence as it follows, that the difference between mount Horeb and Sinai can be no other than one of them above assigned; so it follows also, that by the Israelites removing their camp from Rephidim into the wilderness of Sinai, can be understood no more than their removing from one end or side to another of the same mountain; or at most from one mountain to another adjoining.

12. Thevenot tells us, that he was shewn the rock, out of which Moses brought water; and that it is only a stone of a prodigious height and thickness, rising out of the ground: that on the two sides of it he saw several holes, by which the water has run, as may be easily known by the prints of the water, that has much hollowed it; but at present no water issues out of them.

13. The religious in these parts do (now-a-days at least) distinguish mount Sinai, which they call the mount of Moses, from mount Horeb, making them to be different,

What is to be understood by the decamping from Rephidim to the wilderness of Sinai.

The rock now-a-days shewn, for that out of which Moses brought water.

Three mountains distinguished

but adjoining mountains; and, besides these, there is a third, which they have a veneration for, and is called by them the mountain of St. Catharine. For on the top of this mountain there is a dome, under which is the place, whither the body of St. Catharine, as they tell you, was brought by angels, immediately after she was beheaded at Alexandria. They add, that the body remained there three hundred years, until a good monk, having had in the night a revelation, that the body was on the top of the hill, went next morning with all the religious, who in procession brought it down to the monastery, where it was put in a fine silver shrine, that is still there. But though these particulars are fabulous, yet there is one real curiosity observed by Thevenot; who tells us, that there are many stones on this mount, wherein trees are naturally represented, and which, if broken, retain the same figure within; and that some of them are prodigiously big.

The St. Catharine, from which this mount is denominated, is said to be the daughter of king Costa, a king of Cyprus, who in the time of Maxentius converted many unto Christ. She was for some time tortured on a wheel, whence comes the Catharine wheel, not only talked of sometimes even in these parts of the world, but also frequently used for a *sign* in this very island, and to this very day. She was at last beheaded at Alexandria, where one or two pillars of Theban marble preserve the memory of the place, as was observed in the foregoing chapter.

For these thousand years, says Thevenot, the Greeks have been in possession of the monastery of St. Catharine, it being given them by the Greek Emperor, Justinian. It is a great monastery, and very strong, and is, says Mr. Sandys, to entertain all pilgrims, having an annual revenue of sixty thousand dollars from Christian princes. They give also, adds Mr. Sandys, alms daily to the Arabs, to be the better secured from outrage; but they will not suffer them to come into the monastery, but let it down from the battlements. Thevenot gives us an account of a tradition they have among them, how they

CHAP. II.
SECT. III.

here now-a-days, one whereof is called the mountain of St. Catharine.

14.
This St. Catharine, who said to be; and of the Catharine wheel.

15.
Of the monastery of St. Catharine.

PART II. came to be obliged to give a certain quantity of corn to any Arab that comes to them. According to this tradition, Mahomet was their camel-driver, who being one day weary, fell asleep before the gate of the monastery. While he was asleep, there came an eagle, and hovered for a long time over his head: which the porter of the monastery observing, ran and acquainted the Abbot with it: who immediately coming out saw the same thing; and reflecting thereupon, as soon as Mahomet awoke, asked him, whether or no he would be kind to them, if he should come to be a great and mighty lord? Mahomet answered, that he was never like to be such an one. But the Abbot still insisting upon the supposition, Mahomet told him, that he ought not at all to doubt, but that, if it were in his power, he would do them all the good he could; because he had his livelihood from them. The Abbot would needs have that promise from him in writing. But Mahomet assuring him that he could not write, the Abbot sent for an ink-horn; and Mahomet having inked his hand, clapped it upon a leaf of clean paper, and made thereon the impression of his hand; which he gave them as a confirmation of what he had said. Having some time after attained to that grandeur, which was presaged to him by the eagle, he called to mind his promise; and preserved to them their monastery, with all the land belonging to it, but upon condition, that they should give victuals to all the Arabs in the neighbourhood. And, for that reason, they are obliged, when in the monastery, to give half a peck of corn to every Arab that comes; and these Arabs grind it in a little mill, that they carry always about with them, who come sometimes to the number of one hundred and fifty, or two hundred, nay four hundred in a day, and must all be served. About two years before Thevenot was there, provisions coming to the monastery, the Arabs robbed them; which made the Greeks leave the convent, the gate whereof is walled up, and the walls so high, that they cannot be scaled, and without cannon the place cannot be taken, if there were any within to de-

fend it. But now for two years there has nobody lived in it, because they would punish the Arabs, by depriving them of the sustenance they daily had of them, till they can bring them to reason. And therefore it was, that we found, adds Thevenot, so many monks in the monastery of Tor, whither they were almost all retired. These monks have a Bishop, who is called the Bishop of mount Sinai, on whom depend all the convents and chapels about that mountain, and the convent of Tor too. This Bishop depends not on the patriarch of Alexandria: he was at Caire, when Thevenot was in these parts.

This great monastery of St. Catharine stands at the foot of mount Sinai, or that which is now-a-days called the mount of Moses. From which monastery there were formerly steps up to the very top of the mountain, and were computed fourteen thousand in number. At present some of them are broken; those that remain are well made, and easy to go up and down. One may judge of the height of St. Catharine's mount by this, which certainly, says Thevenot, is not so high as that by a third part, and yet has fourteen thousand steps up to the top of it. There was much snow both on the mount of Moses and that of St. Catharine, when Thevenot was there, which was in February. There are in several places of Moses's mount good cisterns, especially near the top there is a fair and good one. There are two churches on it, one for the Greeks, and another for the Latins. From the Greek church you enter into that of the Latins, which is dedicated to the ascension of our Lord. Near to that there is a little mosque; and by the side of it an hole or little cave, where, you are told, Moses fasted forty days. There is a small grot also, at the side of the Latin church; where Moses is said to have hid himself, when having desired to see God's face, the Lord told him he could not see God's face, and live; but that he should hide himself in that rock, and that when he was passed by, he should see his back parts. There are a back and arms very well marked on the rock, under which Moses is said to have hid him-

CHAP. II.
SECT. III.

16.

Of the
mount of
Moses.

PART II. self. It was on the top of this mount, that Moses is thought to have received from God the Ten Commandments written on two tables.

17. From this place one may easily see down into the convent of St. Catharine, which is at the foot of the mount, and as it were just under those, who are on the top of the mount. There you see a fair large church covered with lead, where, they say, the body of St. Catharine is in pieces. Before the door of the said church, within the precincts of the monastery, there is also a beautiful mosque.

A fair church in the convent of St. Catharine.

18. As we were coming down, says Thevenot, we found by the way a great stone; and, as the Greeks say, this is the place, to which the prophet Elias came, when he fled from Jezebel. They tell you that Elias being come to that place where the stone is, an angel appeared to him, with a rod smiting that great stone, made it fall down in the way; and forbad Elias to go any farther, telling him, that since Moses had not been in the Holy Land, he should not go to the top of this mount.

A fabulous tradition concerning Elias.

19. A little lower is the foot of a camel, so well imprinted on the rock, that it cannot be better stamped upon the sand, over which a camel passes. The Moors and the Arabs say, it is the print of the foot of Mahomet's camel, which is left there, as he passed that way upon it; and they kiss it with great devotion. But it is credible, that the Greeks have made it to gain their friendship, to the end they may also reverence those places.

The foot of Mahomet's camel imprinted on the mount.

20. After that, in several places of the mount, we saw, says Thevenot, little chapels, which have all little houses near them, and gardens full of fruit trees. Heretofore these places were inhabited by hermits, in so great a number, that it is said, that in the mountain of Moses there were, in ancient times, above fourteen thousand hermits. Afterwards the Greeks kept monks in all these hermitages, to celebrate divine office; but at present there are none, because the Arabs too much molested them. Going to see the hermitages, Thevenot found three chapels all toge-

Several chapels, &c. about the mount.

ther, with a passage from one to another. Behind the altar of the third, which is dedicated to Elias, there is an hole in the rock, where Elias is said to have lived, during his stay in the mount. Then Thevenot came to another place, where are three chapels more, dedicated, one to the honour of the blessed Virgin, another to the honour of St. Anne, and a third to the honour of St. John. After that he came to a chapel dedicated to St. Pantaleon; then to another, dedicated to the holy Virgin, another to David, another to the baptism of our Lord, another to St. Anthony the hermit. Then he came to three little cells, in which, the Greeks say, two elder sons of a Greek Emperor shut themselves up, each in his cell, causing the doors to be walled up, and leaving only a window in each, still to be seen; by which they received victuals from a servant, who lived in the third cell, that was not shut up; and that both of them died in their several cells. All these chapels are scattered up and down upon the mount, so that one must go a good way, before he can visit them all. Near to every one of them there is a little house, a garden, and good water.

At the bottom of the mount is the great monastery of St. Catharine, as has been before observed, which was well built of good free-stone, with very high smooth walls. On the east side there is a window, by which those that were within were wont to draw up the pilgrims into the monastery, with a basket which they let down by a rope, that runs in a pulley, to be seen above at the window. By the same place they also let down victuals to the Arabs.

CHAP. II.
SECT. III.

21.

The monastery of St. Catharine well built.

At some small distance from mount Sinai stands (that which is at least esteemed to be) mount Horeb. Our worthy countryman, Mr. Sandys, says, that mount Sinai has three tops of a marvellous height; whereby he probably meant the mount of Moses, the mount of St. Catharine, and mount Horeb; and this last, he saith, is on the west side, or is the most western of the three tops or mountains; which agree very well to the circumstances

22.

Of mount Horeb.

PART II. of the sacred history: for, according to this situation, mount Horeb must lie nearest to Rephidim.

23.
Of the mo-
nastery of
the Forty
Martyrs.

Near to this mount Horeb is the monastery of the Forty Martyrs. It is pretty neat, hath a fair church or chapel, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, and a fine large garden. In this garden are apple-trees, pear-trees, walnut-trees, orange-trees, lemon-trees, olive-trees, and all other fruit-trees, that grow in this country. And indeed, that little of good fruit which is eat at Cairo, comes from mount Sinai. Besides this garden, there are fine vineyards, and very good water there. A Greek monk lives always in this monastery; and he, whom we found there, says Thevenot, told us that he had been twenty years in it. He takes care to see the gardens dressed, and kept in order, by some Arabs who willingly serve him.

24.
The place
shewn for
that, where
the calf was
molten or
cast.

Not far from this garden is shewn the stone, or rather place, where the golden calf was molten. It is in the very rock, where one may see a great head of a calf cut to the life. And within this place it was, as the Greeks say, that the riches and ornaments of the Israelites were cast, of which they made the head of the golden calf that they worshipped, whilst Moses was with God upon mount Sinai. But it is more probable, as Thevenot observes, that the Greeks have in that place cut the head of a calf in the rock, to shew the place where it was cast.

25.
A great
stone with
an inscrip-
tion.

Not far from hence there is on high a great stone, with some inscription upon it, but so defaced that none of it can be read. The Greeks say, that this stone was to mark the place where Jeremiah hid the vessels of gold and silver, and other costly furniture of the temple of Solomon, when the Israelites were carried captive to Babylon; and that it is not known how it has been brought thither, but that there is a very ancient author that speaks of it, as being on mount Sinai. The Jesuit Kircher pretends to explain the inscription in his *Prodromus Copticus*.

26.
Mount Si-
nai not far
from the
Red sea.

It remains now only to observe, that as from other accounts, so particularly from that of Thevenot, it appears that mount Sinai lies at no great distance from the Red

sea, as may be seen better in the map, than expressed in words. CHAP. II.
SECT. III.

SECT. IV.

Of the Journeyings of the Israelites from Mount Sinai to their coming to Kadesh, in or near the Wilderness of Paran, and otherwise called Kadesh-barnea.

ALL the remaining part of the book of Exodus, from chap. xix. inclusively, and the whole book of Leviticus, and the nine first chapters, together with the former part of the tenth chapter of the book of Numbers, are taken up with an account of what was transacted at mount Sinai. At ver. 11, 12. of chap. x. of the book of Numbers, we read, that *on the twentieth day of the second month, in the second year, (namely, from the Israelites coming out of Egypt,) the cloud was taken up from off the tabernacle of the testimony. And the children of Israel took their journey out of the wilderness of Sinai; and the cloud rested in the wilderness of Paran.* In the following chapter we are acquainted with God's punishing the Israelites, for their murmurings and lustings, with a fire which consumed some of them, and also with a very great plague, which took off others. On account of the former sad occurrence, the name of the place where it happened was called Taberah, i. e. *burning*, ver. 3; and, on account of the latter, the place where it happened was called Kibroth-hattaavah, i. e. *the graves of lust*, because there they buried the people that lusted, ver. 34. In the next and last verse of this chap. xi. we read, that the people journeyed from Kibroth-hattaavah unto Hazeroth. Here Miriam and Aaron speaking against Moses, because of the Cushite or Arabian woman whom he had married, Miriam was punished with *leprosy*; and hereupon, by God's command, shut out from the camp seven days. After which, the

1.

A short account of the transactions and occurrences, that happened from the Israelites decamping from mount Sinai, till their decamping afterwards from Kadesh-barnea.

PART II. *Israelites removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran.* This is the sum of Num, xii. In chap. xiii. we are informed, that *Moses, by the commandment of the Lord, sent men from the wilderness of Paran to search the land of Canaan, ver. 1, 2.* And ver. 25, 26, &c. we read, that the men, that were sent, *returned from searching of the land after forty days, and came to Moses—unto the wilderness of Paran, to Cadesh.* Being returned, they all, but Joshua and Caleb, gave such an account of the strength of the Canaanites, as disheartened the rest of the Israelites from thinking they should ever become masters of it, as God had promised them. By this their infidelity, God was so justly provoked, that he swore in his wrath, that none of all the Israelites, from twenty years old and upwards, should live to come into the land of Canaan, save Joshua and Caleb. As for the rest, they should die in the wilderness, and their children should wander in the wilderness forty years, after the number of the days in which the spies searched the land of Canaan. And as for those spies, that *brought up the evil report upon the land, they died by the plague before the Lord, ch. xiv. 37.* But notwithstanding God had thus plainly and positively denounced the punishment they were to undergo for their infidelity, yet they, according to their wonted obstinacy and perverseness, rose up early in the morning, with a resolution to make forward for to enter into the land of Canaan. And no dissuasions of Moses being able to prevail upon them, *they presumed to go up unto the hill top. Then the Amalekites came down, and the Canaanites which dwelt in that hill, and smote them unto Hormah.* This is the sum of chap. xiv. of the book of Numbers. In Deut. i. 19—46. Moses repeats in short these same transactions; and adds particularly, that the Israelites having received this defeat from the Amalekites and Canaanites at Hormah, thereupon *they returned and wept before the Lord; but the Lord would not hearken to their voice, nor give ear unto them,* namely, as to enable them to overcome the Canaanites, and to enter forthwith into the promised

Land. Wherefore having found to their cost, that it was in vain for them to attempt the same without the divine permission or assistance, they were forced at length to submit to the judgment they had brought upon themselves by their infidelity; and so, laying aside all thoughts of entering into Canaan, and having *abode in Kadesh many days, they turned, and took their journey into the wilderness, by the way of the Red sea*; as God had commanded them. Deut. i. 46. and ii. 1. compared with Num. xiv. 25.

Having thus laid together the historical part of the journeys of the Israelites from mount Sinai to Kadesh, we must now speak a little more distinctly as to the geographical part of them. As for Taberah and Kibroth-hattaavah, they are never mentioned in Scripture, but in relation to the Israelites marching from Sinai to Kadesh, and so nothing more can be certainly said of them, than that they lay not far from mount Sinai, in the way thence to Kadesh, and so to the north or north-east of mount Sinai. Hazeroth is more frequently mentioned in sacred writ, but so as that little more of certainty can be grounded thereon, as to the particular situation of the place. It is probably enough supposed to be the same with Hazerim, wherein the Avims are said (Deut. ii. 23.) *to have dwelt, even unto Azzah or Gaza*. That Kibroth-hattaavah lay without the desert of Sinai, is plainly to be inferred from Num. xxxiii. 16. where it is said, that *they removed from the desert of Sinai, and pitched at Kibroth-hattaavah*. And it is as plain that Hazeroth lay without the wilderness of Paran, at least more properly so called. For it being said, Num. xii. 16. that the Israelites removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran, this plainly implies, that Hazeroth was not in the wilderness of Paran, at least in the sense it is there taken in.

2.
Of Taberah, Kibroth-hattaavah, and Hazeroth.

To proceed to the wilderness of Paran itself; there is frequent mention made of it in the sacred history. The first place is Gen. xxi. 21. where we are informed, that Ishmael settled himself in this wilderness, or mountainous

3.
Of the wilderness of Paran.

PART II. and less fruitful and inhabited tract. Whence by the way it may be observed, that since we nowhere read, that the Ishmaelites went about to stop or molest the Israelites in their marches, but suffered them to march through their country quietly, they were probably more kindly affected towards the Israelites, than the descendants of Edom and Esau, particularly than the Amalekites. The wilderness of Paran seems to have been a name taken in a larger and stricter sense. In the larger sense it seems to have denoted all the desert and mountainous tract lying between the wilderness of Shur westward, or towards Egypt, and mount Seir, or the land of Edom eastward; between the land of Canaan northwards, and the Red sea southwards. And in this sense it seems to have comprehended under it the wilderness of Sin, and the wilderness of Sinai, as also the adjoining tract, wherein lay Kibroth-hattaavah and Hazeroth. And in the same sense of it is probably to be understood Deut. i. 19. where it is said: *When we departed from Horeb, we went through all that great and terrible wilderness, which you saw by the way of the mountain of the Amorites;—and we came to Kadesh-barnea.* Where by *that great and terrible wilderness* is probably to be understood the wilderness of Paran in its larger acceptation. For in its stricter acceptation it seems not to have been so *great and terrible a wilderness*, namely, as it is taken to denote more peculiarly that part of the desert of Stony Arabia, which lies between mount Sinai and Hazeroth to the west, and mount Seir to the east. It remains only to observe further, that since we find a city in these parts near the Red sea, called Pharan, it may probably be supposed, that this gave name to the adjacent wilderness of Paran or Pharan.

SECT. V.

Of the Journeyings of the Israelites from their leaving Kadesh-barnea, to their coming to Kadesh in the Wilderness of Zin.

THE Israelites having by their infidelity, as has been observed in the foregoing section, provoked God to swear, and so irrevocably to decree, that none of them, that were then above twenty years of age, should enter *into Canaan*, save Joshua and Caleb, but should die in the wilderness; hereupon they were commanded by God to *turn and get them again into the wilderness by the way of the Red sea*. Num. xiv. 25. Accordingly Moses expressly tells us, Deut. ii. 1—4. that the *Israelites turned, and took their journey into the wilderness, by the way of the Red sea, as the Lord spake unto him: and they compassed mount Seir many days. And the Lord spake unto me, adds Moses, saying, Ye have compassed this mountain long enough; turn you northward. And command thou the people, saying, Ye are to pass through the coast of your brethren the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir, &c.* In the book of Numbers, after that Moses has observed, (chap. xiv. 25.) that God, upon the infidelity of the Israelites, commanded them *to turn, and get them again into the wilderness by the way of the Red sea*, he does not expressly take notice that they did so turn back, but in the five following chapters, viz. from chap. xv. to xix. inclusively, he proceeds to take notice of some laws and rites prescribed by God, and of the great rebellion of Korah and his companions. After which chap. xx. begins thus: *Then came the children of Israel, even the whole congregation, into the desert of Zin, in the first month; and the people abode in Kadesh.* By which words is plainly implied, (what is expressly said Deut. ii. 1. namely,) that the people, upon God's ordering them so to do, had departed from Kadesh, and turned

1.
Kadesh-
barnea a
distinct
place from
Kadesh in
the wilder-
ness of Zin.

PART II. back into the wilderness; and that their coming, here mentioned, Num. xx. 1. unto Kadesh, is to be understood, either of their second coming to the same Kadesh they had been at before, or else of their coming to another Kadesh, distinct from the former. The generality of writers seem to be of the former opinion, supposing whatever is said of Kadesh in the journeys of the Israelites, to be understood of one and the same Kadesh. But the other opinion seems to be much more agreeable to truth, or the sacred history. For herein are plainly distinguished two different places, both called by the name of Kadesh; namely, one lying in or adjoining to the wilderness of Paran, which is mentioned Num. xiii. 26. and the other lying in the wilderness of Zin, and mentioned Num. xx. 1. and xxxiii. 36.

2. That these two were distinct places one from the other may, I think, be easily inferred from the description given of the south coast of the Israelites in the land of Canaan, Num. xxxiv. 3, 4. and Josh. xv. 1, 3. In the former place it is said of the south coast of the Israelites in general, *Your south quarter shall be from the wilderness of Zin, along by the coast of Edom:—and your border shall turn from the south to the ascent of Akrabbim, and pass on to Zin; and the going forth thereof shall be from the south to Kadesh-barnea.* And, agreeably to the directions here given by God, we are told in the other place above cited, that the *lot of the tribe of Judah* (to which fell the most southern part of the land of Israel) *was even to the border of Edom; the wilderness of Zin southward was the uttermost part of the south coast. And their south border went out to the south side to the ascent of Akrabbim, and passed along to Zin, and ascended up on the south side unto Kadesh-barnea.* In both which places, as we have the situation of the wilderness of Zin plainly enough set forth, so we have mention made of Zin (from which the wilderness of Zin doubtless took its name) and of Kadesh-barnea, as two distinct places; forasmuch as it is said in both places, that the south border *passed on to Zin, and ascended up unto*

The first
argument
for the opi-
nion here
mentioned.

Kadesh-barnea; whereby is plainly intimated, that Zin and Kadesh-barnea lay at some distance one from the other, and so were distinct places. But now Kadesh-barnea is the same with Kadesh, lying in or near the wilderness of Paran; as is plain from comparing Num. xiii. 26, &c. with Deut. i. 19, &c. And Zin, which lay in the wilderness of Zin, and from which the said wilderness took its name, is expressly said, Num. xxxiii. 36. to be the same *which is Kadesh*, namely, that Kadesh which is mentioned in Scripture as lying in the wilderness of Zin.

CHAP. II.
SECT. V.

At Kadesh-barnea, or Kadesh near the wilderness of Paran, it was that the spies returned from searching the land of Canaan to Moses, and where they, by reason of their infidelity, brought upon themselves the judgment of wandering in the deserts of Arabia, till they should have filled up the space of forty years from their coming out of Egypt. But the Israelites came not to Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin, till the last year of the said forty, as may be inferred from the death of Aaron, mentioned Num. xxxiii. 38. And as it is probable, that Miriam died but a few months before Aaron, so it is certain that she died at Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin, it being expressly observed Num. xx. 1. And in the following verses of this chapter we have an account of the people's murmuring again for water; whence the place was called Meribah, ver. 13. and (to distinguish it from the place so named before, and lying near Rephidim, and not far from Horeb, Exod. xvii. 1, &c.) this is usually distinguished by the name of Meribah-kadesh, or the like, as Deut. xxxii. 51. Num. xxvii. 14.

3.

The second
argument.

It will be proper here to consider chap. xxxiii. of the book of Numbers; where Moses *professedly* (as is evident from ver. 1, 2.) gives us an account of the journeys of the Israelites, from their setting forth from Rameses in Egypt, to their coming to Abel-shittim near the river Jordan. As to the encampments, reckoned up in this chapter, between Rameses and mount Sinai, they agree well enough with them that are mentioned in the former part of the

4.

Observa-
tions on
Numbers
xxxiii.

PART II. Mosaic history, and in the foregoing sections of this chapter, and so there is no difficulty in them. But as to the encampments reckoned up Num. xxxiii. 16—36. namely, between that at mount Sinai and that in the wilderness of Zin, there are several difficulties. The said encampments are thus mentioned by Moses, in short, ver. 16, &c. *And they removed from the desert of Sinai, and pitched at Kibroth-hattaavah, then at Hazeroth, then in Rithmah, then at Rimmon-parez, then in Libnah, then at Rissah, then in Kehelathah, then in mount Shapher, then in Haradah, then in Makheloth, then at Tahath, then at Tarah, then in Mithkah, then in Hashmonah, then at Moseroth, then in Bene-jaakan, then at Hor-hagidgad, then in Jotbathah, then at Ebronah, then at Ezion-gaber, then in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh.* Num. xxxiii. 16—36.

5. In this account we find, that Moses does no where expressly mention the encampment at Kadesh-barnea, whither the spies returned from searching the land of Canaan. And therefore it cannot be positively determined, by what other name, among those here mentioned, the said encampment is denoted. However, since we are told Num. xii. 16. that the *people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran*; hence it is very probable, that the said encampment at Kadesh in the wilderness of Paran, or Kadesh-barnea, is here denoted by some one or more of the encampments, that are mentioned in the three or four next verses after the encampment at Hazeroth, that is, by some one or more of the encampments mentioned Num. xxxiii. 18—22. I say, by some one or more of these encampments, because it not only plainly enough appears from Num. xiii. but is expressly asserted Deut. i. 46. that the *Israelites abode in Kadesh many days*; (which must be understood of this Kadesh, as is before observed;) and therefore it is likely, that they made several movements, or new encampments, during their stay in the neighbourhood of this Kadesh; which may be the reason that Moses did not expressly mention their stay there, under the single and general name of Kadesh, but denoted

The encampment at Kadesh-barnea not specified in Num. xxxiii.

it by the several particular names, whereby their several particular encampments were distinguished one from the other.

CHAP. II.
SECT. V.

As for the encampments, mentioned from Num. xxxiii. 22. or thereabout, to ver. 36. they were probably such as were between the Israelites decamping from Kadesh-barnea, and their encamping at Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin. None of these encampments to ver. 34. are mentioned any where else in sacred writ, except those contained ver. 31—33. which are again mentioned Deut. x. 6, 7. There is indeed some variation as to the very names of the encampments; which yet is not so great, but that it plainly enough appears, that the same places are denoted respectively by their respective names, though somewhat different. Thus it is not to be doubted but Moseroth (Num. xxxiii. 31.) is the same with Mosera, (Deut. x. 6.) and Jotbathah (Num. xxxiii. 33.) the same with Jotbath, (Deut. x. 7.) And such as have but little acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, know that Bene-jaakan in the former place is the same with the children of Jaakan in the latter. And therefore, whereas it is said in this latter place, that *the children of Israel took their journey from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan*, the word Beeroth (mentioned in Deuteronomy, but not in Numbers) denotes the particular place among the children of Jaakan, where the Israelites encamped. The word is indeed rendered in all the old versions, as well as ours, as a proper name; but it may be taken appellatively to denote *wells*; and so imports, that the Israelites pitched by the wells belonging to the children of Jaakan: and this is the more probable, if we consider of what value wells or water was in those desert places. As for what is rendered in our Bible (Num. xxxiii. 32, 33.) *Hor-hagidgad*, the same is rendered in the Septuagint Version, Chaldee Paraphrase, and other Versions, *the mount Gadgad*. And hereto agrees the old Hebrew text, wherein it is read *the mount Gadgadah*; between which name and *Gudgodah*, Deut. x. 7. there is no difference, but that of the vowels, which is of no weight.

6.

Remarks
as to Num.
xxxiii. 31
—33. particularly
as to the
names of
the places
there mentioned.

PART II. In short, the names are all of them exactly the same in both places of the Hebrew-Samaritan, or old Hebrew text; which plainly decides the matter, that by the said names are denoted the same encampments.

7. Further remarks as to the different order of the encampments. But there still remains a greater difficulty to be solved, which arises from two of the said encampments being mentioned in a quite contrary order (Deut. x.) to that wherein they are mentioned Num. xxxiii. In this chapter it is said, that the *Israelites departed from Moseroth, and pitched in Bene-jaakan*: but in Deuteronomy we read, (according to the present Hebrew text and our translation,) that *the children of Israel took their journey from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan to Moserah*. Several critics and commentators have taken great pains to reconcile these texts; but they have but lost their labour. Others have passed the difficulty over, as too great for them. Others have rightly guessed, that the difference arose from some mistakes of transcribers; but then they have produced nothing to confirm their guess. I say these guessed so *rightly*, because the matter may, I think, be put beyond conjecture, by the authority of the old Hebrew text; according to which, this place in Deuteronomy is to be rendered thus, *And the children of Israel went from Moserah, and pitched in Bene-jaakan*: which exactly agrees to the account of the encampments, as set down Num. xxxiii. 31. It is true, that the reading of the common Hebrew text is followed by all the ancient versions; but this only shews, that the mistake made in this place of Deuteronomy by transcribers happened early. I shall have occasion to speak more of it under the next section.

8. Of Ezion-gaber and Elath. As for Ezion-gaber, mentioned Num. xxxiii. 35, 36. it frequently occurs in the sacred history, and I shall speak more fully of it elsewhere. I shall only observe here, that it, and Elath mentioned with it, Deut. ii. 8. both lay on the Red sea, adjoining to the south or south-east part of mount Seir, or the land of Edom.

9. The wilderness of Zin was proba- I have already observed, that the wilderness of Zin lay in the south-east of the land of Israel, along the coast of

Edom, as is evident from Num. xxxiv. 3, 4. and Josh. xv. 1, 3. I have also observed, that Kadesh lying in the wilderness of Zin was in all probability different from Kadesh in the wilderness of Paran. But it remains further to be considered, how the wilderness of Zin lay in respect to mount Seir, or the land of Edom. The generality of writers do indeed make it lie to the west of Edom, and the same with Kadesh-barnea. That it was not the same with Kadesh-barnea, but a place distinct from it, the reasons above alleged, sect. v. paragr. 2, 3. seem so clear to me, that I could not but readily dissent from the opinion generally received. However there are some expressions in the sacred history, which induced me, for some time after, to look on the encampment of the Israelites in the wilderness of Zin to have been (according to the general opinion) on the west of Edom. But upon further consideration I have been induced to recede still further from the common opinion, and to think that more probable, which places the encampment of the Israelites in the wilderness of Zin on the east side of Edom, as may be seen in the map of the journeys of the Israelites. The chief motive for altering my first opinion herein was this. We read, Deut. ii. 3. that God said to Moses, *Ye have compassed this mountain* (viz. mount Seir, ver. 1.) *long enough; turn you northward*. It is plain from Num. xxxiii. 36. that the Israelites were then at Ezion-gaber. Now if the encampment of the Israelites in the wilderness of Zin (which was next after that at Ezion-gaber) was on the west or north-west of Edom, then the Israelites first marched from Ezion-gaber northward to the wilderness of Zin, on the west of Edom, and then (being denied passage through Edom) marched back again southwards towards Ezion-gaber, and so round the land of Edom to the east side: but as it seems not only inconsistent with the divine wisdom, to order them to march so far north on the west side of Edom, only to come back again; so it plainly contradicts the reason of the orders being given to *turn northward*, namely, because they had *compassed mount Seir long enough*. For by

CHAP. II.
SECT. V.

bly situated
on the
north-east
or east of
Edom.

PART II. their march, according to the common opinion, they were put under a necessity of *compassing it still longer*. Which absurdity and some other difficulties are removed by supposing the encampment in the wilderness of Zin to have been on the east of Edom.

SECT. VI.

Of the Journeyings of the Israelites, from Kadesh in the Wilderness of Zin, to the plains of Moab near Jordan.

1.
The Israel-
ites encamp
in mount
Hor, and
there Aa-
ron dies.

BOTH in Num. xx. 22—29. and Num. xxxiii. 37, 38. we read, that the Israelites *removed from Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin, and pitched in mount Hor, in the edge of the land of Edom*; and that Aaron went up into mount Hor, at the commandment of the Lord, and died there, in the fortieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the first day of the fifth month. In Num. xx. 24. the reason is expressed, why God would not permit Aaron to enter into Canaan, namely, *because he rebelled against my word at the water of Meribah*. Where that by Meribah is to be understood Meribah in Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin; and that by *ye* is to be understood more peculiarly Moses and Aaron, is evident from Num. xxvii. 12. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Get thee up into this mount Abarim, and see the land which I have given unto the children of Israel. And when thou hast seen it, thou also shalt be gathered unto thy people, as Aaron thy brother was gathered. For ye rebelled against my commandment in the desert of Zin, in the strife of the congregation, to sanctify me at the water before their eyes: that is the water of Meribah in Kadesh, in the wilderness of Zin.* Whence we learn, that the occasion of Moses and Aaron's not entering into the land of Canaan was one and the same.

It is expressly said in the text, that mount Hor was *by* CHAP. II. SECT. VI. *the coast*, (Num. xx. 23.) or *by the edge of the land of* 2. *Edom*. Num. xxxiii. 37. And we are expressly told, Deut. Of mount Hor. ii. 12. that *the Horims dwelt in Seir beforetime*; and accordingly we read, Gen. xiv. 6. that Chedorlaomer king of Elam with his confederates smote *the Horites in their mount Seir*. Now whether the Horites took their name from mount Hor, or the mount from them, cannot be possibly determined. But since it is plain, that places did at first take generally their names from the inhabitants, it seems not unlikely, that both the tract or country afterward denoted by mount Seir, and also the inhabitants thereof, took the names, one of mount Hor, the other of the Horims or Horites, from one Hor, of whom these were descended, and who in the more early ages of the world possessed this tract: and that although, in process of time, the name of mount Seir came to be used to denote the said tract, yet the old name of mount Hor was preserved in that part of it, where stood the mountain here so called by Moses, and on which Aaron died. Since it was the very next encampment of the Israelites, after that in the wilderness of Zin; and since, by what has been before observed, it is probable that the wilderness of Zin lay to the east or north-east of Edom; hence it will follow, that mount Hor must lie likewise on the eastern coast of Edom.

It will be proper here to take notice of a great difficulty, which arises concerning the place of Aaron's death and burial, from comparing the two forecited places, Num. xx. 23—29. and xxxiii. 37, 38. with Deut. x. 6. In both the two former places of the book of Numbers, it is expressly said, that Aaron died on the top of mount Hor; but in Deut. x. 6. it is said, that *the children of Israel took their journey from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan, to Mosera: there Aaron died, and there he was buried*. But it is clear enough from the account given us of the encampments of the Israelites in Num. xxxiii. that Mosera or Moseroth, ver. 31. was a very different encampment from that at 3. The present Hebrew text, Deut. x. 6. corrupted, and the true reading restored from the Samaritan Pentateuch.

PART II. mount Hor, ver. 37. Great pains have been taken to reconcile these texts one with the other; but all hath been only lost labour. For it is plain from the Hebrew-Samaritan text, that Deut. x. 6, 7. is extremely corrupted by the mistake of transcribers. I have above shewn the true ancient reading of the former part of ver. 6. I shall now here set down the whole passage as it still stands, rightly preserved, in the Hebrew-Samaritan or old Hebrew text; which in English runs thus: *The children of Israel took their journey from Moseroth, and pitched in Bene-jaakan (or, among the children of Jaakan.) Thence they took their journey, and pitched at Gidgad (or Hagidgad.) Thence they took their journey, and pitched in Jotbatha, a land of brooks of waters. Thence they took their journey, and pitched at Ebronah. Thence they took their journey, and pitched at Exion-gaber. Thence they took their journey, and pitched in the desert of Zin, which is Kadesh. Thence they took their journey, and pitched in mount Hor. And there Aaron died, and was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead. At that time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi, &c.* Thus stands the Hebrew-Samaritan text in the forementioned place of Deut. x. 6, 7. which as it exactly agrees with the order of the encampments mentioned Num. xxxiii. 31—38. so it is not to be doubted, but it is therefore the true ancient reading; and that the present reading in the Hebrew Chaldaic or common Hebrew text has arisen from some mistake in transcribers, or other accident.

4.
Other en-
campments
of the Is-
raelites.

The Israelites decamping from mount Hor, continued their march round mount Seir, and pitched (as we read Num. xxxiii. 41, &c.) in Zalmonah, then in Punon, and then in Oboth. And Num. xxi. 4—10. we read, that between their decamping from mount Hor and encamping at Oboth, *the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way; insomuch that they spake against God and against Moses. Whereupon the Lord sent fiery serpents among them, and they bit them, and many of them died. But upon their confessing their sin, and Moses praying for*

them, God ordered a *serpent of brass* to be made, and put CHAP. II. SECT. VI.
on a pole; (supposed to prefigure the cross of our blessed Saviour, who has delivered mankind from the old serpent;) and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld (or looked up upon) the serpent of brass, he lived.

Departing from Oboth, the Israelites encamped at Ije-
 abarim, in the border of Moab, (Num. xxxiii. 44.) in the wilderness that is before Moab, toward the sun-rising, Num. xxi. 11. And what Moses saith, Deut. ii. 9. *The Lord said unto me, Distress not the Moabites, neither contend with them in battle: for I have not given thee of their land for a possession, but I have given Ar to the children of Lot for a possession.* This whole passage immediately follows in the Hebrew-Samaritan text, that which is above cited from Num. xxi. 11. and it is very likely, that it was originally inserted here, being very apposite; though it is omitted in the common Hebrew text. 5. Another emendation of the present Hebrew text.

From Ije-abarim the Israelites removed, (more north-
 ward,) and pitched in the valley of Zered, Num. xxi. 12. The same may be otherwise rendered, the *brook Zered*, and so it is actually rendered in our translation, Deut. ii. 13. Indeed it is very likely, that in the valley of Zered there might be a brook, which therefore went by the same name. Moses particularly remarks, Deut. ii. 14, &c. that *the space in which the Israelites came from Kadesh-barnea, until they were come over the brook Zered, was thirty and eight years*; and that in that time *all the generation of the men of war* (i. e. all from twenty years old and upward, Num. xiv. 29.) *was wasted out* (i. e. dead) *from among the host, as the Lord swore unto them*, Num. xiv. 28—35. And when all the men of war were thus consumed and dead, then the Lord spake unto Moses, saying: *Thou art to pass over through Ar, the coast of Moab, this day. And when thou comest nigh over-against the children of Ammon, distress them not, nor meddle with them: for I will not give thee of their land any possession, because I have given it unto the children of Lot for a possession.* Deut. ii. 16—19. Now 6. Of the valley of Zered, and another emendation of the present Hebrew text.

PART II. though we meet with nothing of this, Num. xxi. 12. in the present common Hebrew text, yet we have all the passage inserted there, in the old Hebrew text, as spoken by God to the Israelites, during their encampment in the valley of Zered. And this place was very proper for this charge, to be given to the Israelites; because they were now drawing nigh to the confines of the children of Ammon, as soon as they were passed over the river Arnon. But at the same time God tells them, that *he had given into their hand Sihon the king of the Amorites, and his land*, Deut. ii. 24. Accordingly we are told, Num. xxi. 13. that the Israelites removed from the valley of Zered, and pitched on the other side of Arnon, which is in the wilderness that comes out of the coasts of the Amorites: for Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites.

7. Whereas Moses in the forecited Num. xxi. 12, 13. saith, *that the Israelites removed from Ije-abarim, and pitched in the valley of Zered; and from thence they removed, and pitched on the other side of Arnon; there is no mention made expressly of these encampments in Num. xxxiii. but at ver. 45. of this chapter it is said, that they removed from Iim, (which is the same as Ije-abarim, as appears from ver. 44.) and pitched in Dibon-Gad.* Now Dibon-Gad here mentioned being very probably the same with Dibon, which is said, Num. xxxii. 34. to be built (i. e. rebuilt) by Gad; and this lying on the other side of Arnon; hence it seems plain, that this ver. 45. of Num. xxxiii. brings us much to the same place as Num. xxi. 13.

8. From Dibon-Gad we read, Num. xxxiii. 46. that the Israelites removed, and pitched in Almon-diblathaim, only mentioned in this place of Scripture. Thence they removed and pitched in *the mountains of Abarim, before Nebo. And they departed from the mountains of Abarim, and pitched in the plains of Moab, by Jordan near Jericho. And they pitched by Jordan, after such a manner, that their camp extended from Beth-jesimoth unto Abel-shittim, both these places being situated in the plains of Moab.*

How Num. xxi. 13. agrees with Num. xxxiii. 45.

The last encampment of the Israelites on the east of Jordan, mentioned by Moses.

And so ends the account given us, Num. xxxiii. by Moses, CHAP. II. SECT. VI. of the several encampments of the Israelites, from their setting forth from Rameses in Egypt, to their encamping by Jordan.

The mountains of Abarim were a ridge of mountains or hills, between the river Arnon and the river Jordan. One part of these mountains was distinguished by the name of mount Nebo, as may be plainly inferred from Deut. xxxii. 49. where we read, that God said unto Moses, *Get thee up into this mountain Abarim, unto mount Nebo, which is in the land of Moab over-against Jericho.* From this place compared with Num. xxxiii. 47. as it is plain that the mountains of Abarim extended a great way between the rivers Arnon and Jordan; so it is evident from it alone, that Nebo was a part of the mountain Abarim, lying near to Jordan, and over-against Jericho. And if we compare herewith also Deut. xxxiv. 1. where it is said, that Moses *went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah that is over-against Jericho;* it will hence follow, that Nebo and Pisgah were one and the same mountain; and that if there was any distinction between the names, it was probably this, either that the top of the mountain was more peculiarly called Pisgah, or else some other part of it where were steps *cut out* to go up it. For the word being derived from a root or primitive, denoting to *elevate* or *raise up*, is therefore capable to denote itself the *summit* or *top*, as being the most *elevated* part of an hill or mountain. But, on the other hand, Eusebius has observed, that by Aquila, who translated the Bible into Greek, the Hebrew word Pisgah is all along rendered by a Greek word, signifying *cut out*; and that the Seventy Interpreters do likewise in some places render it after the same manner. Whence some conjecture that there were, in one part of mount Nebo, steps *cut out*, so as that one might go up it with the less difficulty; and that this part was more properly denoted by Pisgah. Eusebius and Jerom tell us, that some part of this ridge of mountains, that was seen as one went up from Livies to Esbus

9.

Of the
mountains
Abarim,
mount Ne-
bo, and Pis-
gah.

PART II. or Heshbon, did retain the old name of Abarim in their time. They tell us also, that the part peculiarly called mount Nebo was over-against Jericho, not far from Jordan, and six miles from Esbus to the west. And as there was a city in the tribe of Reuben called Nebo, probably from this mountain; so there was also a city of the Amorites called Pisgah, as the same writers tell us: though in the Bible no city occurs simply under that name, but with an addition; as Ashdoth-Pisgah, mentioned Joshua xiii. 20. among the cities of the tribe of Reuben; and so doubtless the same denoted under the simple name Pisgah, by the forementioned writers; who further add, that the country thereabout was also called Pisgah.

10.
Of Beth-
jesimoth.

In what sense the plains, wherein the Israelites are above said to pitch, when they removed from the mountains of Abarim, are there and elsewhere in Scripture called the *plains of Moab*, shall be shewn in the following chapter, §. 14. Beth-jesimoth, to which the camp of the Israelites extended on one side, was a city of these parts, given afterwards to the tribe of Reuben. It is mentioned Joshua xii. 3. as lying in the south border of the kingdom of Sihon, not far from the Salt or Dead sea. Eusebius mentions a place under the name of Bethsimuth (which probably is the same with this Beth-jesimoth) lying on the east of Jordan, about ten miles from Jericho, towards the south.

11.
Of Abel-
shittim and
Shittim.

Abel-shittim, to which the camp of the Israelites extended on the other side, is never mentioned in Scripture, but in this place, at least under this very name. Indeed it was in all likelihood no other place than what is called Shittim, Num. xxv. 1. Josh. ii. 1. and iii. 1. At most, the difference was only this, that Shittim was the place, and Abel-shittim the valley or plain adjoining to it. Hence for Abel-shittim in the text of our Bible, Num. xxxiii. 49. is put in the margin, *the plain of Shittim*. And of the *valley of Shittim* we have particular mention made, Joel iii. 18. However, the word Abel denoting in the Hebrew tongue *mourning*, others rather think this place to

be called here Abel-shittim, in respect of the great lamentation made here by the Israelites, on behalf of the great number of their brethren that died here, some being by God's particular command hanged, others slain, and others dying of the plague, to the number of twenty-four thousand; and this for their great wickedness in *committing whoredom with the daughters of Moab*; and in *joining themselves unto Baal-peor*, eating of the sacrifices offered to the idol gods of the country, and *bowing down* to them, Num. xxv. 1—9. We have also mention made of Shittim, Joshua ii. 1. and iii. 1. as the place from whence Joshua sent the two spies to Jericho, and from which they decamped, in order to encamp close by the river Jordan, when they were about to pass over that river. From which, and what has been before observed both from Scripture and Eusebius concerning the situation of Beth-jesimoth, it seems plainly enough to follow, that of the two places, between which the Israelites are said, Num. xxxiii. 49. to encamp, namely, Beth-jesimoth and Abel-shittim, the former lay to the south, and the latter to the north of the camp; quite contrary to the position assigned them by some geographers. Some are of opinion, that in the neighbourhood of this place called Shittim, there grew a great deal of the sort of wood, called in Scripture Shittim-wood, and of which the ark was made, Exod. xxv. 5, 10, &c.

CHAP. II.
SECT. VI.

It remains now, before we conclude this chapter, only to take notice of the several movements or encampments, mentioned Num. xxi. 11—20, &c. and to adjust them to the other account given Num. xxxiii. 44—49. In ver. 11. of the former chapter, and in ver. 44. of the latter, we have mention made of Ije-abarim, *lying in the borders of Moab*, and more particularly *lying in the wilderness which is before Moab, towards the sun-rising*. In Num. xxi. 12, 13. we read, that the Israelites *removed from Ije-abarim, and pitched in the valley of Zered*, and then *on the other side of Arnon*: and Num. xxxiii. 45. we read, that they *removed from Iim, (or Ije-abarim,) and pitched in Dibon-*

12.

The harmony between Num. xxi. 11—20. and Num. xxxiii. 44.—49. shewn.

PART II. *Gad.* Now this place (as has been before observed) lying *on the other side of Arnon*, and being mentioned Num. xxi. 30. as the utmost city of the kingdom of Sihon southward, or towards Arnon; hence it is very probable, that here it was that the Israelites first encamped, after they had crossed the river Arnon. In Num. xxi. 16—20. we read, that *from thence* (viz. *from the other side of Arnon, which is in the wilderness that comes out of the coasts of the Amorites*, ver. 13.) the Israelites went to Beer; which that it lay within the aforesaid wilderness, is evident from what follows, ver. 18. For there it is said, that *from the wilderness* they went to *Mattanah*; which place Eusebius tells us lay^a upon, or in the Arnon, (whereby he understands the *rock* or rocky tract so called, not the *river*,) at twelve miles distance from Medeba towards the east. Hence the *Israelites removed to Nahaliel, and thence to Bamoth; and from Bamoth to the valley, that is in the country of Moab, to the top of Pisgah, which looks toward Jeshimon, or the wilderness.* And in Num. xxii. 1. we read, that *the children of Israel set forwards, and pitched in the plains of Moab, on this* (i. e. the east) *side of Jordan by Jericho.* Now this encampment, as it is the last (mentioned in any other chapter) of them that were made in the life of Moses, so it is apparently the same with the last encampment mentioned Num. xxxiii. that being also said ver. 48. to be *in the plains of Moab, by Jordan near Jericho.* In short therefore the encampment *on the other side of Arnon*, Num. xxi. 13. being probably the same which is more particularly specified Num. xxxiii. 45. by the encampment there said to be at Dibon-Gad; and the last encampment mentioned Num. xxii. 1. agreeing very well with the last encampment mentioned Num. xxxiii. 48. as being both said to be *in the plains of Moab by Jordan*; hence it follows, that the intermediate encampments

^a 'Επὶ τῇ Ἀρνών, which Jerom renders *in Arnone*, which will not agree to the river Arnon, but agrees very well to the *rock* or

rocky tract so called, and which is only taken notice of, either by Eusebius or Jerom, under the word *Arnon*.

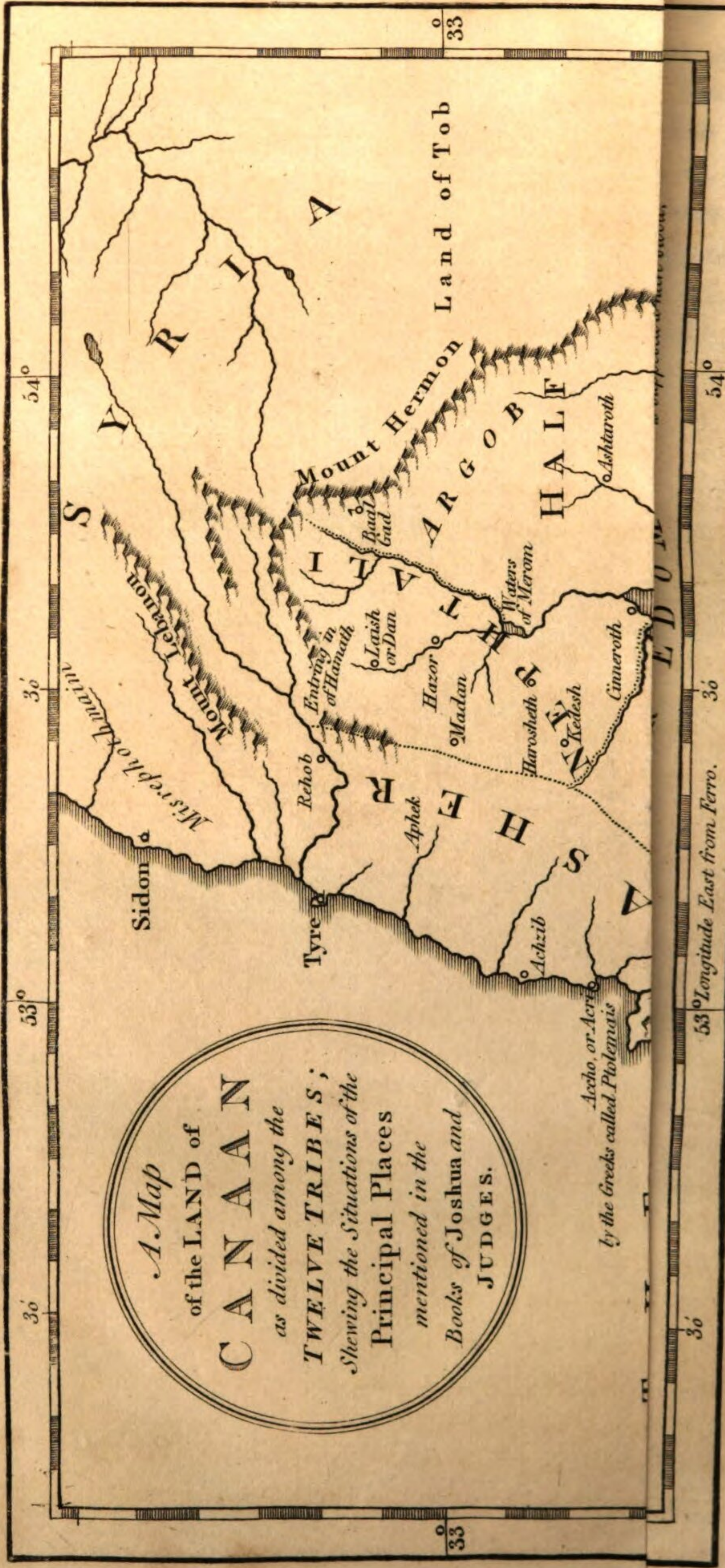
both in the one and the other places must have been between the two encampments already mentioned, viz. between the rivers Arnon and Jordan, or more particularly between Dibon-Gad and the *plains of Moab by Jordan, over-against Jericho*. Certainly to determine the order of these intermediate encampments, is impossible in respect of the short account we have of them in both places of Scripture. What seems to be probable in the matter is this: That the Israelites having crossed the river Arnon, first encamped at Dibon-Gad, lying in the wilderness; then at Beer, i. e. the Well, which God was pleased to discover to them, being in a great strait for water in that wilderness; then at Almon-diblathaim, lying in the edge of the same wilderness; then at Mattanah; then at Nahaliel, a word which taken appellatively denotes *the rivers or brooks of God*; and so perhaps named, because here the Israelites began to meet with a country better watered than they had done in their journeys hitherto, namely, watered with several rivulets or streams issuing from the neighbouring mountains, and running into the river Arnon, or the river Jordan. From Nahaliel the Israelites decamping, they seem to have encamped next in the mountainous tract of Abarim, and in this tract to have had two particular encampments, one at Bamoth, (which probably enough may be the same place with that called, Josh. xiii. 17. Bamoth-baal, or the *high places of Baal*,) and the other afterwards nearer Jordan, at that part (or parts) of the mountains of Abarim, which was particularly called Nebo and Pisgah. Hence they moved, and encamped *in the plains of Moab, between Beth-jeshimoth and Abel-shittim*, which is the last encampment mentioned in either of the chapters we are speaking of, or in the whole Mosaic history, as being the last made during the life of Moses.

To conclude this chapter concerning the encampments of the Israelites. From comparing Num. xxxiii. with other chapters, where some of the journeys of the Israelites are taken notice of, it seems very probable, that though in Num. xxxiii. Moses professes to give an account

PART II. of the journeys of the Israelites ; yet he is not thereby to be understood, as if he there designed to give an account of all the particular places, where they made any halt or stay, only for a single night or day, or the like ; but only of such places where they *encamped*, i. e. staid for some considerable time. And thus I have gone through what I judged requisite to observe concerning the journeys of the Israelites from Rameses in the land of Egypt, to the east side of the river Jordan, during the life of Moses.



Plate IX. To front Page 291. Vol. I.



T. Conder del & Sculp.

CHAP. III.

Of the Country beyond Jordan, i. e. on the East of Jordan, which was divided by Moses between the two Tribes of Reuben and Gad, and one half of the Tribe of Manasseh.

THE Israelites having subdued Sihon and Og, the two kings of the Amorites, beyond or on the east of Jordan, Moses divided their country (from its situation in respect of the land of Canaan, called by the Greeks Peræa, i. e. *the country beyond Jordan*) between the two tribes of Reuben and Gad, and one half of the tribe of Manasseh. And because it will be of good use for the clearer understanding of the sacred history, I shall briefly premise here a short account of the several masters, under whom these countries successively were, as far forth as may be gathered from Scripture; and so shall have opportunity to take notice by the way of the lands of Moab and Ammon.

I have in the former Part of the Geography of the Old Testament observed, that it is generally agreed, that upon the first plantation of the earth after the Flood, as great part of Mesopotamia, and the adjoining parts of what was called by the Greeks and Latins Syria, fell to the lot and possession of Aram, one of the sons of Shem; so Uz, one of the sons of Aram, settled himself in the parts of Syria about Damascus; and so these parts beyond Jordan, of which we are now speaking, were probably at first possessed by the descendants of Uz. Whence it is, I think, most probably thought by many ancient as well as modern writers, that the land of Uz, mentioned in the book of Job, is to be understood of the country lying originally between Damascus to the north, and the plantation of Cush or Arabia to the south, and the land of Canaan to the west, and Arabia Deserta to the east.

But be this as it will, in process of time, namely, at the time when Abraham first sojourned in the land of Canaan,

1.
The country beyond Jordan, by whom possessed successively.

2.
First, as is probable, by the descendants of Uz.

3.
Then by the Re-

PART II. we find that this country was possessed by the Rephaim,
 phaim, Zuzim, and Emims. Zuzim or Zamzummim, and the Emims; names, which all of them import men of more than ^a ordinary strength, and of a ^a gigantic race. It is conjectured, that these were not descendants of Uz before mentioned, but some who were of another breed, and perhaps of the Anakims and the Rephaims among the Canaanites; who as being neighbours might easily invade the descendants of Uz, and, dispossessing them, the original planters or masters, might seize on their country for themselves. This opinion receives strength from its being said, that Og was of the Rephaim, (Deut. iii. 11.) and from his being reckoned nevertheless one of the *two kings of the Amorites*, ver 8. of the same chapter. But whencesoever they were descended, and how strong soever they might have been formerly, yet it seems they were not able to withstand the forces of Chedorlaomer king of Elam; who with his confederates, bringing an army into these parts, *smote* (as we read Gen. xiv. 5.) *the Rephaims in Ashteroth-Karnaim, and the Zuzims in Ham, and the Emims in Shaveh-Kiriat-haim.*

4.
 Of Ashteroth-Karnaim, a city of the Rephaim.

As to the Ashteroth-Karnaim, it was in all likelihood the same with Ashtaroth, mentioned Josh. xiii. 12. as one of the capital cities of Og king of Bashan, and again, ver. 31. as given by Moses to the half tribe of Manasseh. The word Karnaim denotes in the Hebrew tongue *two-horned*; whence some suppose this city to have been so called, as standing upon *two hills*, or built so as to resemble *two horns*: but it seems more probable, that as Ashtaroth was an idol much worshipped in those times and parts, (as appears from Judg. ii. 13. and 1 Kings xi. 5.) and that by the said name was denoted the *moon*; so by Carnaim is denoted the usual way of picturing the *moon* with *two horns*. And it is very probable, that, from the worship paid there to this idol, the place came to be denoted by the name of Ashtaroth-Carnaim, and simply Ashtaroth, or

^a See Deut. ii. 10, 11, 20, 21.

simply Carnaim, as 1 Maccab. v. 26, 43, 44. which last name is somewhat altered into Carnion, 2 Maccab. xii. 21, 26. And agreeably hereto Jerom tells us, it was called Carnea in his time, and was a considerable town, lying six miles from Adra or Edrei; and that there was shewn the house wherein Job dwelt.

As for the word, which in our English and some old translations is rendered *Ham*, as the proper name of a place; the same is by the Seventy Interpreters, and in other old versions, rendered as an appellative, *with them*: whereby is denoted, according to the meaning of such interpreters, that *Chedorlaomer smote the Rephaims*, and together *with them* also the *Zuzims*. There being no mention made, in any other part of Scripture, of such a place as Ham, at least lying in these parts, there is no room left but for bare conjecture, concerning the Ham here mentioned, supposing it to be the proper name of a place. We learn from Scripture, that the country of the Zuzims was afterwards possessed by the Ammonites; and since it is likely, that this Ham was the chief city of the Zuzims, it might possibly be the same that was afterwards the chief city of the Ammonites, called in Scripture Rabbah, and afterwards in Greek and Latin writers, Philadelphia. And this may be the more likely, forasmuch as Rabbah does literally denote only the *Great City*; and therefore the more proper and peculiar name of the said Rabbah of the children of Ammon might be Ham; of which more by and by, §. 12.

Shaveh-Kiriathaim, where the Emims were smitten by Chedorlaomer, may otherwise (as is observed in the margin of our Bible) be translated *the plain of Kiriathaim*. And of such a city we read, Num. xxxii. 37. and Josh. xiii. 19. as belonging to the tribe of Reuben, and built (i. e. rebuilt) by the Reubenites. Which city since it lay in the country (formerly) of the Emims, there is no reason why it should not be looked on to be the same with Kiriathaim, in the plains whereof the Emims were overthrown by the army of Chedorlaomer. That the country of the Emims

5.
Of Ham, a
city of the
Zuzims.

6.
Of Sha-
veh Kiri-
athaim
among the
Emims.

PART II. was in process of time inhabited partly by the tribe of Reuben, will appear from what follows.

7. For the country beyond Jordan being thus depopulated, by the great overthrow given to the several aforementioned inhabitants thereof, the Rephaims, Zuzims, and Emims, by the victorious army of Chedorlaomer; and also by the great numbers of them, that were, as is probably inferred from Gen. xiv. 14. carried away captive: hereupon the descendants of Lot, the Moabites and Ammonites, found it no difficult matter to settle themselves in these parts. Accordingly we read, Deut. ii. 9, 10. that the Moabites possessed the country, *wherein the Emims dwelt in times past*; and in like manner we read, ver. 19, 20. that the Ammonites possessed the country, *wherein the Zamzummims (or Zuzims) dwelt* in old time.

8. As for the Rephaims, the river Jabbok seems to have been the boundary between them and the Zamzummims; and it does not appear from the sacred history, that the country of the Rephaims was ever possessed by the descendants of Lot. On the contrary, it being particularly observed, Deut. iii. 11. that Og the king of Bashan was of the remnant of the Rephaims, (for that is the Hebrew word in this place, which in our translation is rendered *Giants*;) it is very probable, that the Rephaim, notwithstanding the overthrow they received from Chedorlaomer, stood their ground so well as not to be dispossessed of their country by any of their neighbours; but still kept up their kingdom, under a king of their own nation, to the time that the Israelites invaded them, and, by the divine assistance, conquered and quite put an end to their kingdom. And this is confirmed by what we read, Judg. xi. 13. for there we find the king of the Ammonites laying to the charge of the Israelites, that *they took away his land, when they came out of Egypt, from Arnon even unto Jabbok, and unto Jordan*. Whence it may be fairly inferred, that the Ammonites had possessed nothing, or very little, on the north of Jabbok, or of the kingdom of Og. For had they ever been possessed of the country north of Jabbok, they

might have as well charged the Israelites with taking that CHAP. III.
from them, as with taking from them what lay between
Jabbok and Arnon.

From this passage of Scripture, Judg. xi. 13. there
arises some difficulty, viz. in what sense the king of the
Ammonites, speaking of the country *from Arnon even*
unto Jabbok, could call it *his* land; (for his words are, *Is-*
rael took away my land, from Arnon even unto Jabbok, and
unto Jordan;) since it is certain from Scripture, that a
great part of it, namely, to the south, or towards Arnon,
was formerly inhabited by the Moabites; and so the
claim thereof belonged to them, not to the Ammonites.
And this seems to be particularly referred to by Jephthah,
in his answer to the message of the king of Ammon,
where he puts this question to him, Judg. xi. 25. *And now*
art thou any thing better than Balak, the son of Zippor,
king of Moab? Did he ever strive against Israel, or did he
ever fight against them? Now, to solve this difficulty,
some have conjectured, that the Moabites either formerly
had been, or then were, tributary to the Ammonites; and so
the king of the Ammonites might, upon that considera-
tion, lay claim to what belonged to the Moabites as be-
longing to him. Others suppose the king of the Ammon-
ites to have used the forementioned expression, on account
of the near alliance and confederacy there was all along
between these two branches of Lot's posterity, the Moab-
ites and Ammonites; on consideration of which, the king
of the Ammonites might look on what belonged to his con-
federates the Moabites, as belonging in some sense to *him*.

But perhaps there is no need of supposing any other
than a literal meaning in the forementioned expression;
forasmuch as what formerly belonged to the Ammonites,
and was taken from them by the Amorites, and so came
to the Israelites, might literally reach *from Arnon unto*
Jabbok, and unto Jordan; just as (or at least, much as) the
tribe of Gad is supposed to have done, according to the
situation of it described in the map hereunto belonging.
For it is not improbable, but that, upon the conquest of

9.
A diffi-
culty
arising
from Judg.
xi. 13. how
solved by
some.

10.
How to be
solved
otherwise,
and more
probably.

PART II. Sihon, Moses, in dividing his kingdom between the tribes of Gad and Reuben, might have some regard to the old division of the country between the Moabites and Ammonites; so as to assign to the Reubenites what had formerly belonged to the Moabites; and to the Gadites, what had formerly belonged to the Ammonites; at least, as to the main of each country.

11. The tract called in Scripture, the land of the Ammonites. Now besides what the descendants of Lot possessed formerly between Arnon, and Jabbok, and Jordan, they were also possessed of two other tracts. The Ammonites enjoyed a considerable tract more to the east, and beyond the hills that bounded the eastern part of the country beyond Jordan. And though they were dispossessed of what lay on the west of these hills by the Amorites, yet they still kept their ground, in what lay on the east of these hills; which therefore is that which is in Scripture called, the land of the children of Ammon. Indeed these hills seem to have been the barrier which stopt the Amorites from invading the rest of the country, possessed by the Ammonites on the east side of these hills; and hence probably it is, that it is expressly observed, Num. xxi. 24. *that the border of the children of Ammon was strong.*

12. Of Rabbah, the chief city of the Ammonites. The principal city of the Ammonites was Rabbah, a word importing *great* or *populous*, and therefore is applied to other cities as well as this. And hence in Scripture it is, for distinction sake, styled *Rabbah of the children of Ammon*, Deut. iii. 11. We learn from the old geographer Stephanus, that it was also known by the name of Ammana, which it is generally thought to have taken, either from Ammon the founder of the nation, or from its being the chief city of the children of Ammon. And indeed the great likeness between Ammana and Ammon mightily conduces to lead men into this opinion. But since we are expressly told in Scripture, that the Ammonites succeeded the Zuzims in this country; and since it thence appears also that the Zuzims had a city called Ham, and which probably was their principal city; on these considerations it is not only possible, but probable, that the name Am-

mana or Amana, mentioned by Stephanus, might be deduced from Ham or Am, the ancient name of this city, before it fell into the hands of the Ammonites. But we have greater certainty that this city was in after-ages called Philadelphia, and that, as it is said, from Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt; who, having made himself master of these parts, and liking the situation of this place, repaired and beautified it, and honoured it with the name of Philadelphia. But it never occurs under this name in Scripture; wherein it is taken notice of, Deut. iii. 11. on account of the vast iron bed of Og king of Bashan being there. It is also memorable in the sacred history for its being besieged and taken in the reign of King David; as also for the death of Uriah, slain there by a design of David's during the siege. This city seems to have consisted of two parts, one whereof was more peculiarly called Rabbah, the other the City of Waters, as better watered than the other, and so perhaps more pleasant, whence the King seems to have had his palace here; on which account it is otherwise called the Royal City, 2 Sam. xii. 26, 27. The waters, whence this part of Rabbah took the name of the City of Waters, are thought to be those of the river Jabbok; and indeed Eusebius tells us, that this river or brook runs between Philadelphia and Gerasa; but he does not say, that it comes up to the very place. And this may suffice of the Ammonites.

As for the Moabites, besides the country they possessed on the north of the river Arnon, which Sihon king of the Amorites took from them, they possessed also a tract to the south of the river Arnon, between Edom to the west, and Midian to the east and south. And this they enjoyed all along, after the loss of the other part of their country. The chief city of the Moabites in this country was Ar, called by the Greek writers Areopolis, and thought by them to have been so named from their worshipping the God of war, called by the Greeks *Ἄρης*, *Ares*, by the Latins *Mars*. But the likeness between the Hebrew word *Ar* and the Greek word *Ares* seems to be the only

CHAP. III.

13.

Of the
country of
the Moab-
ites on the
south of
the river
Arnon.

PART II. foundation for this etymology. This city, we are told by Eusebius and Jerom, was also called Moab, from Moab the father of the Moabites. It is also said by writers to be otherwise called Rabba, and to be the same that occurs in the Geography of Ptolemy under the name of Rhalmathum. Some take this city Ar to have been the same with Aroer; but the contrary opinion is the most probable; forasmuch as Aroer was given to the tribe of Gad, and so on the north side of the river Arnon; whereas Ar was all along inhabited by the Moabites, and so was situated on the south side of the said river.

14. It is farther here to be remarked, that after the captivity of the ten tribes, and so of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, that were possessed of the country between the river Arnon and Jabbok, the Moabites repossessed themselves of several places on the north of the river Arnon. Whence it is, that in the prophecies against Moab we find mention made of Heshbon, and several other places, once belonging to the Reubenites and Gadites, as belonging then to the Moabites. Not but that even in the writings of Moses we find the plain on the east of Jordan, called the plains of Moab, namely, as appertaining once to the Moabites, and so retaining their old name.

Several places lying between the river Arnon and Jordan, and so belonging to the Israelites, on what account ascribed to the Moabites in Scripture.

15. Having said thus much of the country of the Ammonites and Moabites, I need say no more as to the kingdom of Sihon, than that it lay from south to north, between the river Arnon, which bounded it from the Moabites, and the river Jabbok, which bounded it from the kingdom of Og; and from east to west, between the mountains or hills, which parted it from the Ammonites, and the river Jordan, which parted it from the land of Canaan. The capital city of this kingdom was Heshbon, of which more in the tribe of Reuben, §. 17.

Of the kingdom of Sihon.

16. To the north of the river Jabbok lay the kingdom of Og, reaching as far northwards as to mount Lebanon, or that part of it which was particularly called mount Hermon; and from east to west, between the hills of Gilead and the river Jordan. It is also called the kingdom of Bashan,

Of the kingdom of Og.

whence came the Greek word Batanea, denoting likewise CHAP. III. these parts in after-ages. As it is remarked in Scripture for its high hills, and great oaks; so also is it for its good breed of cattle, and good pasturage, Psal. lxxviii. 15. Isai. ii. 13. Deut. xxxii. 14. Psal. xxii. 12. Ezek. xxxix. 18. Amos iv. 1, &c. The capital cities of this kingdom were Ashtaroth and Edrei; of the former we have spoken already, of the latter we shall speak in the half tribe of Manasseh.

Moses having conquered Sihon and Og, and so made the Israelites masters of all the country *on the east of Jordan, from the river of Arnon unto mount Hermon*, Deut. iii. 8. he divided it among the two tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh. To the Reubenites he gave the southern, or rather the south-west part of this country, so that the Reubenites were bounded to the south with the river Arnon, to the west with Jordan, to the north and east with the tribe of Gad. In this tribe stood Heshbon, the capital city of the kingdom of Sihon, who is therefore styled, Deut. ii. 26, &c. *King of Heshbon*, and is expressly said, Josh. xiii. 10. *to have reigned in Heshbon*. Though it appertained to the tribe of Reuben, yet it stood in the confines of the tribe of Gad, as appears from comparing Josh. xiii. 17. with ver. 26. For as it is in the former verse reckoned among the cities given to the Reubenites, so in the latter verse the coast of the Gadites is said to be *from Heshbon unto Ramath-mizpeh*, &c. It was remarkable for its excellent *fish-pools*, which are taken notice of Cant. vii. 4. After the carrying away of the ten tribes into captivity, it was repossessed by the Moabites; whence in the Prophecies both of Isaiah and Jeremiah, Is. xv. xvi. Jer. xlviii. xlix. against Moab, we have frequent mention made of it. It was, whilst in the hand of the Israelites, a Levitical city, i. e. one of the cities set apart for the Levites to dwell in. It continued a great and noble city till the days of Eusebius and Jerom, being by the Greeks called Esbus; and it was situated, as we are told by these writers, on the hills over-against Jericho, at about

17.

Of the tribe
of Reuben,
and the city
Heshbon.

PART II. twenty miles distance from the river Jordan. It was in their days reckoned a city of Arabia, under which name was then comprehended a good part of Peræa, or the country beyond Jordan. The other remarkable cities of this tribe shall be taken notice of, as they occur in the series of the sacred history.

18. Of the tribe of Gad. The tribe of Gad was bounded with the river Jordan to the west, with the half tribe of Manasseh to the north, with the Ammonites to the east, and with the tribe of Reuben to the south.

19. Of the half tribe of Manasseh, on the east of Jordan. The half tribe of Manasseh, that lay east of Jordan, was bounded with the tribe of Gad to the south; with the sea of Cinnereth, (afterwards called the lake of Genesaret, and the sea of Galilee,) and the course of the river Jordan from its head to the said sea, (which course is sometimes styled the Upper Jordan, sometimes the Lesser Jordan,) to the west; with mount Lebanon, or more peculiarly mount Hermon, to the north and north-east; and with the mountains of Gilead to the east.

20. A remark concerning the mid border between the tribe of Gad, and half tribe of Manasseh; and the method observed as to the cities of each tribe. It is evident from Josh. xiii. 26, 30. that Mahanaim was in the confines of the tribe of Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, which we are here speaking of; and it is evident, v. 27. that the tribe of Gad reached *unto the edge of the sea of Cinnereth, on the other side Jordan eastward*. So that the boundary between these two divisions must pass from the said edge of the sea of Cinnereth to Mahanaim. As for the remarkable places lying within these two divisions, I judge it best to defer taking notice of them, till we come, by following the thread of the sacred history, to those occurrences for which they are remarkable. And the same method I shall observe as to the cities or towns lying in the tribes on the west side of Jordan.

21. Of the city and wilderness of Kedemoth. But, according to this method, it will be requisite to take notice here of such places as are mentioned in the history of the conquest of the two kingdoms of Sihon and Og. We read then, Deut. ii. 26. that *Moses sent messengers out of the wilderness of Kedemoth, unto Sihon king of Heshbon, with words of peace*. Now as it is clear, from the cir-

cumstances of the sacred history mentioned in that chap-
 ter, that this wilderness lies near the river Arnon; so Josh. CHAP. III.
 xiii. 18. we have among the cities given to the Reubenites
 one named Kedemoth, from which therefore, as lying
 within or near it, this wilderness in all probability took
 its name. As this wilderness lies on the river Arnon, so it
 lies along that which was the eastern coast of the country
 beyond Jordan. For as the extent of this country from
 north to south is described, Judg. xi. 22. to be *from Arnon*
even unto Jabbok; so the extent of it from east to west is
 there described to be *from the wilderness even unto Jordan*.
 Where by the *wilderness* is probably meant the wilderness
 of Kedemoth.

Sihon rejecting *the words of peace* sent him by Moses, 22.
 and refusing to give the Israelites passage through his Of Jahaz.
 country, gets an army together, and *went out against Is-*
rael into the wilderness; and he came to Jahaz, and fought
against Israel. It is evident hence, that Jahaz lay near, if
 not in, the wilderness of Kedemoth, from which the Israel-
 ites had sent their ambassadors to Sihon; and agreeably
 we find, Josh. xiii. 18. among the cities of the Reubenites,
 one named Jahaza, (which we need not doubt but was
 the same with Jahaz,) and named just before Kedemoth;
 from which the wilderness took its name. So that hence
 it may be reasonably inferred, that this Jahaz lay in the
 eastern or south-east part of the tribe of Reuben, not far
 from Kedemoth.

The Israelites having conquered Sihon, *they went up by* 23.
the way to Bashan: whereupon Og came out against them Of the city
to battle at Edrei, Deut. iii. 1. It is probably thought, Edrei.
 that this Edrei lay in the southern part of the kingdom of
 Og; and this is confirmed in that it is joined, ver. 10. with
 Salchah, which plainly lay there, as appears from 1 Chron.
 v. 11. For the south part of the kingdom of Og was that
 which was next to the Gadites. Eusebius and Jerom sup-
 pose it to be the same that was in their time called Adara,
 and was then a considerable city of what was then called
 Arabia, lying at the distance of four and twenty miles

PART II. from Bostra; (for which is corruptly read in Jerom's version Osdra;) whereby may be understood either Bostra, a city of Arabia, mentioned by Ptolemy and others, or else Ashtaroth-Carnaim. For whereas, Josh. xxi. 27. mention is made of Beesh-terah, as a Levitical city in Bashan, instead thereof, 1 Chron. vi. 71. Ashtaroth is mentioned. And the words, setting aside B, are written both much alike in the Hebrew; and Beesh-terah may be easily moulded by the Greeks into Bestra or Bostra.

24.
Of the difference between Argob, and Bashan, and Gilead.

Og being totally defeated, we read, Deut. iii. 4. that *the Israelites took all his cities, all the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan.* It is controverted among writers, whether Argob and Bashan were equivalent terms, or quite distinct, or whether the former denoted only some part of the country denoted by the latter. Now this matter may, I think, be cleared from ver. 13, 14, 15. for here Moses saith, *I gave unto the half tribe of Manasseh all the region of Argob, with all Bashan.—Jair the son of Manasseh took all the country of Argob,—and I gave Gilead unto Machir.* Here in ver. 13. the *region of Argob* seems plainly to be spoken of as a part of Bashan; and ver. 14, 15. the *region of Argob* is said to be given unto Jair, and Gilead unto Machir; so that these two together seem to have made up the country, or at least the kingdom of Bashan. As to the particular situation of these two tracts, viz. Argob and Gilead, it is evident enough, that Gilead properly so called was the tract, wherein lies the mount or hills of Gilead; and consequently, that the remaining tract of the kingdom of Og was that called the region of Argob, which therefore lay to the north of the other.

25.
Of Pethor, the city of Balaam.

The king of Moab being terrified at the great success the Israelites had against the two kings of the Amorites, Sihon and Og, he sends for a famous diviner of those times, called Balaam, who lived at Pethor, which lay in Aram, as we read Deut. xxiii. 7. whereby is to be understood, that part of Aram which was more peculiarly styled Aram-naharaim, or Mesopotamia, as we are expressly told, Deut. xxiii. 4. Balaam being met by Balak the king of

Moab at the utmost coast of his kingdom, is brought to CHAP. III.
the king to Kirjath-huzoth; then on the morrow *to the*
high places of Baal, (Num. xxii. 39, 41.) then *into the*
field of Zophim, then *to the top of Peor*, Num. xxiii. 14, 28.
Of these places, Kirjath-huzoth and the field of Zophim
being only mentioned here, nothing more can be said of
them, than that they lay in the country of Moab, in that
part of it which lay next to the tribe of Reuben. As for
the *high places of Baal*, it is in Hebrew Bamoth-baal;
and therefore probably the hills that lay near Bamoth be-
fore mentioned, ch. ii. §. 12.

As for Peor, it is thought to be a part of the moun- 26.
tains Abarim. Upon this mount there seems to have Of Peor,
and Baal-
Peor.
stood the temple of an idol, called thence Peor or Baal-
Peor. By partaking of the sacrifices offered to this idol,
and worshipping it, the Israelites greatly provoked God,
whilst they lay encamped at Shittim, Num. xxv. 1—5.

In ver. 17, 18. of this chapter, we find God command- 27.
ing the Israelites to vex the Midianites, and smite them. Of the Mi-
dianites.
Now these Midianites, as has been observed, Part I. of
this Geography of the Old Testament, ch. xi. were de-
scendants of Midian, one of the sons of Abraham by Ke-
turah; and who together with his other brethren were
sent away from Isaac, during the life of Abraham, *east-*
ward unto the east country, namely, into the parts of Ara-
bia lying to the east of Canaan, east of that part of Ca-
naan where Abraham then sojourned, which was the most
southern part adjoining to Beersheba. Accordingly, in
process of time, we find the Midianites settled next to
the Moabites, namely, to the east or south-east of them.
And we find some colonies of them settled elsewhere, near
to the Red sea, and mount Sinai or Horeb, in the times of
Moses; who fled out of Egypt into this land of Midian,
Exod. ii. 15. and married Zipporah, the daughter of Je-
thro, or Reuel, the priest or prince of Midian, a city and
country thus lying near the Red sea. A branch of these
Midianites near the Red sea were the Kenites; some of
which turned proselytes, and dwelt with the Israelites in

PART II. the land of Canaan : of which race was undoubtedly Heber the Kenite, the husband of Jael, who slew Sisera. The rest continued mingled with the Amalekites, till the time of Saul. But the Midianites here mentioned in Num. xxv. were those adjoining to the Moabites, and who opposed the Israelites after the death of Barak, as we read in the book of Judges. And so much for the geographical part of the history of Moses.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Conquest of the Land of Canaan, under the conduct of Joshua.

MOSES being dead, by the commandment of God Joshua succeeds him, as leader in chief of the Israelites; and prepares to pass over the river Jordan. Hereupon *he removed from Shittim* (where the Israelites had encamped for some time) on the morrow after the two spies returned, that he had sent from thence to Jericho, *and came to Jordan*, Josh. iii. 1. And after three days stay there, proper directions being given, the *Israelites passed over Jordan right against Jericho, on dry ground; the waters which came down from above, i. e. from the upper part of the stream, standing and rising up upon an heap very far, i. e. for a long way together, namely, as far as from the city Adam* (or Adom, which is only here mentioned, and said to be) *beside Zaretan*.

This latter place is mentioned twice more in Scripture, viz. 1 Kings iv. 12. and vii. 46. from which two places it appears, that it lay not far from Succoth, (of which we have spoken in the first Part,) and Bethshean, (of which we shall speak hereafter,) and so not far from the southern part of the sea of Galilee.

The Israelites having crossed Jordan, and the priests that bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord being come out of the channel of the river, the waters thereof returned unto their place. The place where they encamped was called Gilgal, because here circumcision was renewed. For *all the people that came out of Egypt were circumcised; but all the people, that were born in the wilderness by the way, as they came forth out of Egypt, them they had not circumcised*. Wherefore upon this renewing of circumcision, the Lord said unto Joshua: *This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt* (i. e. uncircumcision)

PART II. *from off you: wherefore the name of the place is called Gilgal (i. e. rolling) unto this day.* Josh. v. 2—9. Here it was that Joshua pitched the twelve stones, which were taken up out of Jordan, by one man of every tribe. And here the people abode, till they were whole again, after their having been circumcised; and here they celebrated the Passover: lastly, here the people ate of the old corn of the land, on the morrow after the Passover; and here on the morrow after that the manna ceased. It has been already observed, that it is expressly said, Josh. iii. 16. that the Israelites passed over *Jordan right against Jericho*; and it is expressly said, Josh. iv. 19. that they *encamped in Gilgal in the east border of Jericho*. Whence it is plain, that Gilgal must be situated between Jordan and Jericho. And since Josephus^c tells us, that Jericho was sixty furlongs distant from Jordan, and that the camp of Gilgal was fifty furlongs distant from the same river; hence it follows, that Gilgal was ten furlongs from Jericho eastward; that is, according to the common computation of eight furlongs to one mile, a mile and a quarter. But it is observed by some learned men, that five of the furlongs used by Josephus do make up an Italian mile; and so the distance between Gilgal and Jericho will be just two miles. And this exactly agrees with what St. Jerom saith, when he tells us, that the place was shewn in his days at two miles distance from Jericho, and was had in very great veneration by the inhabitants of that country.

4. *The Israelites being recovered of the sore made by cir-*
Of Jericho. *cumcision, and fit for action, the first city that was taken*
by them was Jericho, which lay nearest to them. It was
delivered into their hands after a miraculous manner, the
wall falling down flat, so that the people went up into the
city, every man strait before him; and they took the city.
 I have spoken of this city already in the first Part of my Geography of the New Testament, chap. vi. §. 14. To what is there said I shall only add from Eusebius, that the city built by Hiel the Bethelite, and which was honoured

^c Antiq. b. v. c. 1. And the War of the Jews, b. v. c. 4.

with our Saviour's presence, and mentioned in the Gospel CHAP. IV.
 history, was destroyed for the treachery of its inhabitants,
 during the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans; and that
 the city standing in his days was a third city, built after
 the siege of Jerusalem, and, as it seems, not in the very
 same place where either of the two former had been built.
 For he tells us, that the ruins of both the former were still
 shewn. It is sometimes in Scripture called, *the city of*
Palm-trees, from the plenty of these trees, or the excel-
 lency of them above others, in the territory of this city.

Old Jericho being taken and destroyed, Joshua having
 first informed himself of the strength of Ai, sent about two
 or three thousand men against it, as judging them suffi-
 cient to take the place, according to the information he
 had received. But this party of the Israelites being
 worsted by the men of Ai, contrary to expectation, here-
 upon Joshua addresses himself to God in the most humble
 manner; who acquaints him, that the reason why the
 party he had sent against Ai had not met with their ex-
 pected success was, because some of the *Israelites had*
sinned. Hereupon a scrutiny being made by lot, Achan
 was discovered to be the offender, and hereupon he toge-
 ther with his sons and daughters, &c. were put to death
 in the valley of Achor, so called from the *trouble* brought
 upon the Israelites by the sin of Achan, as appears from
 chap. vii. ver. 26. compared with chap. vi. ver. 18. for the
 Hebrew word Achor denotes *trouble*. It is evident enough,
 from the circumstances of the history, that this valley lay
 not far from Jericho; and Josh. xv. 7. we read that it lay
 in the north border of the tribe of Judah.

The wrath of God being turned away by the punish-
 ment of the offenders, Joshua marches a second time
 against Ai, and takes it by stratagem, and burns it. We
 have this place mentioned in the history of Abraham, who,
 both before and after his going into Egypt, pitched his
 tent between Bethel and Hai or Ai: for the place is writ-
 ten the same way in the Hebrew text, though it is written
 thus differently in our translation. It appears both from

PART II. Gen. xii. 8. and Josh. vii. 2. and viii. 9. that this city Ai lay to the east of Bethel; and that it was not far from Bethel, may be gathered from Josh. viii. 17. though Eusebius and Jerom had not told us so; who add, that in their time there were shewn some small remainders of the ruins of it. Masius tells us, that Ai was three leagues from Jericho, and Bethel one league from Ai.

7.
Of Beth-
aven.

In Josh. vii. 2. we read that Ai was *beside Beth-aven, on the east side of Bethel*. Whence it seems clearly enough to follow, that Beth-aven there was a distinct place from Bethel, though not far from it. It lay in the north border of the tribe of Benjamin, as appears from Josh. xviii. 12. For the wilderness of Beth-aven there mentioned was in all probability so called, from this Beth-aven mentioned chap. vii. ver. 2. It is true indeed, that the prophet Hosea does elegantly call Bethel, on the account of Jeroboam's placing there one of the golden calves, and of the idolatrous worship performed thereto, by the name of Beth-aven; and this seems to be the occasion that some have thought there was no other Beth-aven, but Bethel.

8.
The cities
of the Gi-
beonites, or
in subjec-
tion to, or
in confe-
deracy with
the Gibeon-
ites.

The Gibeonites being terrified at what had befallen Jericho and Ai, obtained by a trick a league from Joshua and the Israelites, sending men as ambassadors to Gilgal, who were so equipped, as if they had come from a very far country. The league being made and sworn to, the Israelites quickly became sensible how they had been imposed upon. For *at the end of three days, after the league was made, they heard that they were their neighbours; and they came unto the cities of the Gibeonites on the third day, (viz. after they had heard so.) Now their cities were Gibeon, and Chephirah, and Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim.* Josh. ix. 16, 17.

9.
Of Gibeon.

As for Gibeon, we learn, Josh. x. 2. that it was *a great city, greater than Ai*. Eusebius and Jerom tell us, it was the metropolis of the Hivites, and a regal city: but we nowhere read in Scripture of the king of Gibeon; and in the text last cited it is said to be *as one of the royal (or regal) cities*. Whereby seems to be implied, that it was

not a regal city, but however was as considerable a city as the regal cities were. Eusebius further tells us, that it was a town or village in his time, still going under its old name, being four miles westward from Bethel. CHAP. IV.

That Gibeon was a city of principal note, further appears from that it had the other cities, mentioned Josh. ix. 17. either subject to it, or confederate with it. Of which cities we have nothing more remarkable of Chephirah, than what is here said of it. 10. Of Chephirah.

Beeroth lay, as we are told by Eusebius and Jerom, under the hill Gibeon, i. e. under the hill whereon stood Gibeon; being a town or village in their days, lying in the road from Ælia or Jerusalem to Neapolis, (or Sichem,) at seven miles distance from Jerusalem. They were of this town that killed Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, and cutting off his head, brought it to David to Hebron; who ordered the murderers to be themselves slain, 2 Sam. iv. Mr. Maundrell, who seems to take this place to be the same with Beer, whither Jotham fled from Abimelech, Judg. ix. 21. tells us, that it enjoys a very pleasant situation, on an edge declining southwards. At the bottom of the hill it has a plentiful fountain of excellent water; from which it has its name. At its upper side are remains of an old church, built by the Empress Helena. 11. Of Beeroth.

The last place Kirjath-jearim is frequently mentioned in the sacred history. It appertained afterwards to the tribe of Judah, and it lay in the confines of that tribe and the tribe of Benjamin, being nine miles distant from Jerusalem in the road thence to Diospolis, i. e. Lydda. In this place the ark of the Lord abode for twenty years, namely, from the time that it was sent away out of the land of the Philistines, to the time it was removed hence by king David, 1 Sam. vii. compared with 1 Chron. xiii. Of this city was Uriah, a prophet slain by Jehoiakim, as we read, Jerem. xxvi. 20, &c. 12. Of Kirjath-jearim.

The king of Jerusalem, understanding that the Gibeonites had made peace with the Israelites, sends to the king of Hebron, to the king of Jarmuth, to the king of La- 13. Five kings war against Gibeon, which is relieved by Joshua.

PART II. chish, and to the king of Eglon, to come and with their joint forces to fall upon the Gibeonites. Accordingly these five kings go together and encamp before Gibeon; the inhabitants whereof presently dispatch away messengers to Joshua at Gilgal, to give him notice of their condition, and to desire succour without delay. Hereupon Joshua marches all night from Gilgal to their relief; and falling upon the army of the confederated kings, *slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them along the way that goes up to Beth-horon, and smote them to Azekah, and unto Makkedah.*

14.
Of Beth-horon.

There is express mention made in Scripture of two Beth-horons: for 1 Chron. vii. 24. we are told, that a woman of the tribe of Ephraim, by name Sherah, *built Beth-horon the nether and the upper.* It is accordingly agreed among writers, that they both lay within the bounds of the tribe of Ephraim. But it is not agreed, in what part of the tribe each lay; some placing Beth-horon the upper in the northern border of the tribe, and Beth-horon the nether in the southern border; whilst others place them nearer one to another, and both in the south border. Certain it is, that the Beth-horon mentioned in this action of the Israelites must lie in the south border of the tribe of Ephraim, as being adjoined to the tribe of Benjamin, wherein Gibeon stood. It is also plain, that this Beth-horon stood on a hill; which, as the Canaanites fled from Gibeon, they went up; whence it is said, Josh. x. 10. that *the Lord chased them along the way that goes up to Beth-horon.* But from Beth-horon to Azekah the way lay down the hill on another side; whence ver. 11. it is said, that as the Canaanites were *in the going down* (namely, of the hill) *of Beth-horon, the Lord cast down great stones upon them, unto Azekah.*

15.
Of Azekah. This Azekah is expressly reckoned among the cities of the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 35. and this situation thereof agrees very well with the circumstances of this action. For, to say no more, we find it in the forecited text named together with Jarmuth, the king of which was one of the

five confederate kings that were conquered. Eusebius and Jerom tell us, that there was a town in their time, named Ezeca, between Eleutheropolis and Jerusalem; which might be probably enough the same with this Azekah, forasmuch as this lay in those parts. CHAP. IV.

Joshua being very desirous to pursue the advantage he had obtained over his enemies to the uttermost, that no stop might be put thereto by the coming on of the night too soon upon him, through a divine impulse of a miraculous faith, he said, *Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou moon, in the valley of Ajalon. And the sun stood still, and the moon stopped, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies.* Josh. x. 12, 13. Of Gibeon enough has been said already: Ajalon, which is the other place here mentioned, lay in the tribe of Dan, Josh. xix. 42. and was one of the cities that were given in that tribe to the Levites, Josh. xxi. 24. But it seems, the Danites could not drive out the Amorites from Ajalon, as we read Judg. i. 35. 16.
Of Ajalon.

Joshua being acquainted, that the five kings that had fled were hid in a cave at Makkedah, orders them to be secured therein, till he had made an end of pursuing the enemy. After which he comes and encamps at Makkedah, and puts the five kings to death. *And that day he took Makkedah,* Josh. x. 28. which we find reckoned among the cities afterwards given to the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 41. It stood, as Eusebius informs us, eight miles to the east of Eleutheropolis; which Eleutheropolis being a place often mentioned by Eusebius and Jerom, as from which they reckon the distance of many places mentioned in the Bible, it will be requisite to observe here, once for all, that this city is never mentioned itself in the Bible, at least not under that name; and it is said to have been of much later date than the Scripture history, being not built till after the destruction of Jerusalem. The name imports as much as *the free city*; and it was a considerable place in those later times; and accordingly is particularly taken notice of, and its situation assigned by Ptolemy the 17.
Of Makkedah; as also of Eleutheropolis, a place from which Eusebius and Jerom often reckon the distances of Scripture places.

PART II. geographer, as it is set down in the tribe of Judah. For though it be not mentioned in the Scripture itself, yet I judged it requisite to insert this place as to the name, for the reason above mentioned, viz. in respect of the distances of several Scripture places being reckoned from it by Eusebius and Jerom.

18. Having taken Makkedah, Joshua marches with his
Of Libnah. victorious army unto Libnah, which he likewise takes, Josh. x. 29, 30. This also was a city afterwards assigned to the tribe of Judah, and probably lying very near Makkedah; whence it is mentioned, Josh. xv. 42. next after Makkedah. It was also a Levitical city, as appears from Josh. xxi. 13. It was besieged by Sennacherib king of Assyria, in the days of Hezekiah, 2 Kings xix. 8. Eusebius and Jerom tell us, that it was a town or village in their time, lying within the district of Eleutheropolis.

19. From Libnah Joshua marched unto Lachish, and en-
Of Lachish. camped against it, and took it the second day, Josh. x. 31, 32. The king of this city was one of the five that joined their forces against the Gibeonites. There is frequent mention made of it in the sacred history. It was one of the places besieged by Sennacherib king of Assyria, in the reign of Hezekias king of Judah: for upon the division of Canaan this city fell to the tribe of Judah, together with the neighbouring cities mentioned in this tenth chapter of Joshua. It was a town in the days of Eusebius and Jerom, being seven miles distant from Eleutheropolis to the south.

20. We read, Josh. x. 33. that *Horam king of Gezer came to help Lachish: and Joshua smote him and his people.* It
Of Gezer. appears from Josh. xvi. 3. that this Gezer lay in the south coast of the tribe of Ephraim, not far from Beth-horon, between it and the sea, that is, the Mediterranean sea. Hence it follows, that it lay at some considerable distance from Lachish; and consequently we may observe, that it is said in Josh. x. 33. only that *Joshua smote the king of Gezer and his people, until he had left him none remaining; that is, quite destroyed all the forces this king*

brought with him to the relief of Lachish: but nothing is said of Joshua's taking the city of Gezer itself, as being at too great a distance, and so too much out of the way, to march against at present. Indeed this seems to have been a very strong place, and to have held out against the Israelites till the reign of Solomon: for we read, 1 Kings ix. 16. that *Pharaoh king of Egypt had gone up and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife.* And in the following verse we read, that Solomon rebuilt it together with Beth-horon the nether, and some other places. It was standing in the days of Eusebius and Jerom, being then a town called Gazara, four miles from Nicopolis (i. e. Emmaus) to the north.

From Lachish Joshua passed with his army to Eglon, and took it on that day, Josh. x. 34, 35. The king of this city was another of the five kings above mentioned. The city lay not far from Lachish, as may be gathered, not only from the circumstances here mentioned, but also from its being mentioned with Lachish, Josh. xv. 39. where it is reckoned among the cities assigned to the tribe of Judah. Eusebius and Jerom tell us, that it was a very large town in their days, distant twelve miles from Eleutheropolis to the east: but then these writers take Eglon to be the same with Adullam; whereas they are apparently distinguished, Josh. xv. 35, 39.

From Eglon Joshua marched unto Hebron, and took it. The king of this city was another of the five kings above mentioned. There having been frequent mention of this place in the history of Abraham, I need say no more of it here, than what is already said in the first Part. From Hebron therefore Joshua returned and marched to Debir, and took it, Josh. x. 36—39. This Debir is called by two other names in this book of Joshua. For Josh. xv. 15. we are told, that *the name of Debir before* (i. e. in former times) *was Kirjath-sepher*; and ver. 49. among the cities assigned to the tribe of Judah, we have mention made of *Kirjath-sannah, which* (as is there added) *is Debir.* Now the

CHAP. IV.

21.

Of Eglon.

22.

Of Debir,
and its several names.

PART II. word Kirjath denotes the same as *the city*; and hence we have it in the beginning of the names of several places, as Kirjath-arba, otherwise called Hebron, Kirjath-jearim, &c. The word Sepher in the Hebrew tongue denotes a *book*: whence some conjecture that this was an old academy of the Canaanites. Others conjecture it to have rather been the place, where their archives or old records were kept. The word Debir, whereby it is also called, may be applied to either of the foregoing senses. For it is derived from a root, that signifies *to speak*; and so may be understood to import a *school of eloquence*, or of *literature* in general: and the very word Debir used as an appellative denotes the *inmost* and *most secret* part of a temple, where the oracles were wont to be spoken or delivered, and into which none might enter but the priests; and in this acceptation the word is very applicable to the places, where archives are wont to be laid up, they being usually very *secret* places, and such as admittance into is allowed but to peculiar persons. As for Kirjath-sannah, which is the third name whereby this city is called, it may be understood to denote, either *the city of the Bush*, as lying among bushes or thickets, and so the more secret and retire; or else, *the city of Ingenuity* or *Politeness*, where the faculties of men's minds are *sharpened*, (for the root, from which Sannah may be derived, signifies *to sharpen* or *whet*;) and in this sense Kirjath-sannah may very properly import an university or place of literature. And thus much for the import of the several names given to this city.

23. Of the situation of Debir. As to the situation of this city, all the light we have concerning it is from Josh. xv. 15, 49. where we have it reckoned among the cities given to the tribe of Judah, and more particularly among such as lay in the southern tract of that tribe, and probably not far from Hebron. And it is observable, that in Josh. x. 38. Joshua is said to *return to Debir, and fight against it*. Where by *returning* is probably denoted, that Joshua, having carried his conquests in these southern parts as far as to Gaza, ver. 41.

which was the south-west angle of the land of Canaan, he then marched back again, and in this his return laid siege to Debir, and took it. CHAP. IV.

And this is farther confirmed from what is said ver. 41. viz. that *Joshua smote all* (this south part) *from Kadesh-barnea, even unto Gaza; and all the country of Goshen, even unto Gibeon.* For the country of Goshen (which is the only place here mentioned, that has not been spoken of already) is generally by writers placed in the south tract of the tribe of Judah, and that not without ground, since Josh. xi. 16. we find the land of Goshen mentioned together with and next to the *south country*. And since by this very name we find the fruitful tract of Egypt, wherein the Israelites sojourned, frequently called; hence this land of Goshen within Canaan is thought to have been of the like nature with that in Egypt, that is, very fruitful. Indeed it is evident, that here in Canaan there was a city called Goshen, and that the country round it was that which is here styled the land or country of Goshen; whereas we do not find there was any city or town of that name in Egypt. But this hinders not but the city Goshen in Canaan might be so called, as lying in a fat good soil. 24.
Of Goshen
in Canaan.

Joshua having thus, *at one time*, i. e. at one expedition, conquered all the southern tract of the land of Canaan, he turns with his army to Gilgal; where it is evident there was a fixed camp of the Israelites for a considerable time, after their first coming on the west of Jordan, Josh. x. 42, 43. After this, the kings in the north parts of Canaan, hearing what success the Israelites had had in the south parts, joined all their forces together, and came and pitched at the waters of Merom, to fight against Israel. By the *waters* of Merom are here denoted, as is probably thought by learned men, the lake that lies between the head of the river Jordan and the lake of Genesareth, and which was peculiarly styled the *Semechonite lake*. It is nothing near so large as the lake of Genesareth, and the tract about it marshy ground. 25.
Of the wa-
ters of Me-
rom.

- PART II. Near to these waters of Merom was situated (as is conjectured by the learned) Hazor, the regal city of Jabin, who was the chief and most powerful prince in those parts, ver. 10. and who therefore it was (as we read Josh. xi. 1.) that summoned the other princes in the north of Canaan to come and join him with their forces. Which accordingly they did, and so encamped all together, near the waters of Merom, or the Semechonite lake. But being all entirely routed by the Israelites, Joshua took Hazor, and also burnt it, and put the king thereof to the sword. He took also the cities of the other kings, and killed the kings, but did not burn any of the cities but Hazor.
26. Of Hazor. The other cities, the kings whereof joined Jabin king of Hazor, and which are particularly specified, are the cities of Madon, Shimron, and Achshaph. As to the former of these, Madon, it is never mentioned in Scripture, but in relation to this fight, and then but barely named, so that nothing more particular can be said of its situation, Josh. xi. 1. and xii. 19.
27. Of Madon. Shimron here is doubtless the same with Shimron-meron, whose king is reckoned among the one and thirty kings slain by Joshua, chap. xii. especially since the king hereof is mentioned together with the kings of Madon, Hazor, and Achshaph. It is also scarcely to be doubted but this is the same with Shimron, reckoned among the cities given to the tribe of Zebulun, chap. xix. ver. 15.
28. Of Shimron. Achshaph is mentioned only chap. xi. ver. 1. and chap. xii. ver. 20. and chap. xix. ver. 25. In the two former it is mentioned in reference to the fight before spoken of; in the latter place it is reckoned among the cities assigned to the tribe of Asher.
29. Of Achshaph. Besides the kings of the cities already specified, we are told that Jabin sent to the kings of the plains south of Cinneroth, in the borders of Dor on the west; chap. xi. ver. 2. Now Cinneroth was an ancient city, that stood on the sea of Galilee, and from which, as being of principal note, that sea is frequently styled in the Scripture of
30. Of Cinneroth, and the sea of Cinneroth.

the Old Testament, the sea of Cinneroth. And perhaps CHAP. IV.
 from this old word Cinneroth or (as it is sometimes writ-
 ten) Cinnereth, might be framed the word Genesaret; the
 sea of Cinnereth being the same that is called the lake of
 Genesaret in the New Testament.

Dor was a considerable city on the coast of the Medi- 31.
 terranean sea; whence it gave name to the country round Of Dor.
 about it. It was given to the half tribe of Manasseh on
 this, i. e. the west side of Jordan. Eusebius and Jerom
 tell us, that it lay between Cesarea of Palestine (which is
 simply called Cesarea in the New Testament) and Tyre;
 and Jerom adds, that it lay at the distance of nine miles
 from Cesarea, and was gone quite to decay in his time, so
 as to be uninhabited.

In ver. 3. of this eleventh chapter we read, that *Jabin* 32.
sent to the Hivite under Hermon, in the land of Mizpeh; Of the land
 and ver. 8. that the Israelites smote these Canaanites, and of Mizpeh.
chased them unto Great Zidon, and unto Mixrephoth-maim,
and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward. The land of
 Mizpeh here mentioned does denote the tract of mount
 Gilead, otherwise called Mizpeh, as we learn from the
 story of Jacob and Laban, Gen. xxxi. 49. And so the
 valley of Mizpeh here spoken of must denote some valley
 adjoining to mount Gilead. In like manner, the word
 Gilead is frequently used to denote the whole tract of the
 same mountain with the adjacent country, as far as to
 mount Hermon, which together with mount Halak and
 Seir are only branches of mount Lebanon; and shall be
 more peculiarly taken notice of, when we come to speak
 of mount Lebanon.

Zidon is frequently mentioned in the New Testament, 33.
 and so described in the geography thereof. Near to this Of Misre-
 do writers agree in placing Misrephoth-maim, which photh-
 word is understood by some appellatively, so as to denote maim.
salt-pits; others render it *burnings of waters*, and under-
 stand it of sand dug out of this place, and melted down by
 the heat of fire, for to make glass withal. They are led

PART II. into this opinion, because this country abounds with sand fit for this purpose.

34.
Of Jar-
muth.

The eleventh chapter of Joshua concludes with telling us, that *there was none of the Anakims left in the land of Israel; only in Gaza, and in Gath, and in Ashdod*, ver. 22. Gaza and Ashdod (this last being the same with Azotus in the New Testament) have been spoken of already; and Gath I shall have a more fit occasion to speak of hereafter. I shall proceed therefore to take notice here of those cities of the one and thirty kings, mentioned in the next chapter as slain by the Israelites, that have not yet been spoken of. And the first of this sort is the city of Jarmuth, ver. 11. For though mention is made, chap. x. of the king of Jerusalem's sending to the king of Jarmuth, yet no particular account is there given of the Israelites taking the city of Jarmuth: for which reason it was not particularly spoken of before. It was then one of the cities given to the tribe of Judah, chap. xv. ver. 35. and, as Eusebius and Jerom tell us, about four miles from Eleutheropolis; but in another place, under the name of Jermus, (which was probably the same with Jarmuth,) the distance of it from Eleutheropolis is by both the aforementioned writers assigned to be ten miles; which for some reasons is thought by writers to be the truest.

35.
Of Geder.

The king of Geder was another of the kings slain by the Israelites, and whose city has not been yet spoken of. And indeed it is no where else mentioned in the sacred history, exactly under the same name. But it is very probable, that this Geder is the same either with Gederah, or Gederoth, or Gedor, all distinctly mentioned, Josh. xv. 36, 41, 58. as lying in the tribe of Judah; but which of these it is, cannot be determined.

36.
Of Hor-
mah.

Another city to be here taken notice of is Hormah, a city first assigned to the tribe of Judah, as appears from chap. xv. ver. 30. but afterwards given to the tribe of Simeon, as we read, chap. xix. 4. Hence it follows, that it lay in the south border of the land of Canaan, and there-

fore may very well be the same place which we had men- CHAP. IV.
tion of in the journeys of the Israelites from Egypt; and
which was at first so named by the Israelites from the de-
feat the Israelites received from the Amalekites in the
neighbourhood thereof, Num. xiv. 45. Which name was
afterwards confirmed by an overthrow given by the Is-
raelites in the same parts to Arad, a Canaanite king, in
this south tract.

From this king Arad, or some other of the same name, 37.
the city Arad (whose king is mentioned next to the king Of Arad.
of Hormah as slain by the Israelites) might probably take
its name. It is not to be doubted, but this city lay in the
south part of the land of Canaan, not only because of
what is said of king Arad, Num. xxi. 1. and xxxiii. 40;
but also because we read of *the wilderness of Judah, which*
lay in the south of Arad, i. e. in the south parts of the tribe
of Judah about the city Arad, Judg. i. 16.

Among the kings slain by Joshua is also the king of 38.
Adullam, a city assigned to the tribe of Judah, chap. xv. Of Adul-
lam.
ver. 35. It is remarkable in the sacred history on account
of a cave in the neighbourhood thereof, whereunto David
retired, when he withdrew from Achish the king of Gath;
and whither his brethren and all his father's house came
to him; and whither every one that was in distress, or in
debt, or discontented, gathered themselves unto him, to
the number of about four hundred men, over whom he
became captain, 1 Sam. xxii. 1. Eusebius tells us, that
it was in his days *a very great town*, about ten miles to the
east of Eleutheropolis; and Jerom says, that in his days it
was *not a small town*.

Another city here to be taken notice of is Tappuah, 39.
chap. xii. ver. 17. We find a city of this name mentioned Of Tappuah.
among the cities of the tribe of Judah, chap. xv. ver. 34.
and chap. xvi. 8. and xvii. 8. we find also a Tappuah men-
tioned, as lying on the border of Manasseh, but belong-
ing to the children of Ephraim. It is scarcely possible to
suppose both these to be one and the same place; and it
is as hard to determine, which of them (supposing them

PART II. two distinct places) it was, that had its king slain by Joshua.

40. **Of Hepher and Aphek.** The city Hepher is here mentioned but ver. 17. of this same chapter of Joshua. And as this city Aphek is mentioned ver. 18. so we find a city of that name among them that were given to the tribe of Asher, chap. xix. ver. 30. There is also mention made chap. xv. ver. 53. of a place called Aphekah, lying in the tribe of Judah. And because there is a very small difference between Aphek and Aphekah, and no other than what is frequently to be observed in Scripture history, in reference to one and the same place; hence it becomes uncertain, which is the Aphek, the king whereof was slain by Joshua.

41. **Of Lasharon.** The king of Lasharon is mentioned next, a name only mentioned here in all the Scripture; unless, as some conjecture, the first syllable of it *La* is to be looked on as an article, and so the name itself be Sharon; which occurs both in the Old and New Testament. In the latter we find it mentioned, Acts ix. 35. as a city or town not far from Lydda, and which therefore might be the city, the king whereof was killed by Joshua. There is also mention of a city called Sharon, 1 Chron. v. 16. but this being there attributed to the Gadites, who lived on the east of Jordan, it cannot be understood of the Sharon, or Lasharon, which is spoken of in this twelfth chapter. Eusebius and Jerom tell us, that all the country from Cesarea to Joppa was called Saron; and also, that the country between mount Tabor and the lake of Tiberias was called by the like name. The country of Sharon is represented as a fruitful and pleasant tract, Cant. ii. 1. and in more than one place of Isaiah. In the former it is particularly taken notice of on account of its roses; in the prophecy of Isaiah it is represented as having excellent pasturage.

42. **Of Taanach.** Taanach, the king whereof was slain by Joshua, is a city, which is several times mentioned in Scripture. It was given to the half tribe of Manasseh, on the west of Jordan, and was a Levitical city. Eusebius and Jerom tell us, that there was standing in their time a town of this

name, being four miles distant from Legeon, another town frequently mentioned in the geographical treatise of Eusebius; but it being not certain where this Legeon itself stood, thence the distances of other places from it are but of little use to us. It seems probable from Judg. v. 19—21. that Taanach lay not far from the river Kishon, nor yet from the city of Megiddo, of which next.

Megiddo did also appertain to the half tribe of Manasseh on the west of Jordan; but the Canaanites continued to dwell in it, being tributary to the Israelites, Josh. xvii. 11, 12. It was one of the cities rebuilt by Solomon, 1 Kings ix. 15. And it is farther remarkable in the sacred history for the death of two kings of Judah, viz. of Ahaziah and Josias.

Another of the kings slain by Joshua and the Israelites was the king of Kedesh. There are two distinct places of this name; one lying in the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 23. and the other lying in the tribe of Naphtali, mentioned chap. xix. ver. 37. and in several other places of Scripture. It is not certainly to be determined, which Kedesh it was, the king whereof is mentioned chap. xii. ver. 22. but it is highly probable that it was Kedesh-Naphtali, as it is sometimes expressly called in Scripture by way of distinction from that of the tribe of Judah. The reasons for this opinion are these two; that Kedesh of the tribe of Judah appears throughout the whole Scripture history to have been of little note, especially in comparison to Kedesh-Naphtali, which was not only a Levitical city, but also one of the six cities of refuge, as appears from chap. xx. ver. 7. where it is styled *Kedesh in Galilee in mount Naphtali*. The other reason is, that in this chap. xii. ver. 22. it is named in the midst of several other cities, lying in these northern parts of Canaan. Of this town was Barak, who, by the direction of Deborah the prophetess, led the Israelites, that vanquished the army of Sisera, a general of Jabin king of Hazor, Judg. iv. &c.

Jokneam (the king whereof is mentioned next to that of Kedesh) was a city near the mountain Carmel, whence

PART II. it is here styled, ver. 22. Jokneam of Carmel. It lay in the tribe of Zebulun, and was one of the Levitical cities in that tribe.

46. The last king mentioned in Josh. xii. is the king of Tirzah, a city frequently mentioned in the sacred history, forasmuch as it was for a long time the regal city of the kings of Israel, after the ten tribes revolted from the house of David. Indeed Jeroboam, who was the first king of Israel, though he dwelt for some time at Shechem; yet he seems to have, in his latter days at least, fixed his royal residence at Tirzah, as may be probably inferred from 1 Kings xiv. 17. And the succeeding kings of Israel kept their residence in the same city, till that Omri, having reigned six years in Tirzah, built Samaria, and removed the royal seat thither, where it continued all along afterwards, till a final period was put to the kingdom of Israel. The reason, which induced the former kings of Israel to make choice of Tirzah for the place of their residence, may be very probably gathered from Cant. vi. 4. where we find this expression: *Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah.* For hence it appears, that Tirzah was a very beautiful, and so pleasant, city to dwell in. But notwithstanding it was the seat-royal of the former kings of Israel, and is often mentioned in Scripture; yet there is nothing said any where therein of it, from which the situation of it may be with any certainty determined. Nor is any light afforded us herein from Josephus, Eusebius, or any other good author. So that there can be nothing more produced, than conjecture built upon some degree of probability. Since therefore Jeroboam was of the tribe of Ephraim, it is thought that he would be thereby inclined to make choice of a place within his own tribe, for his regal city. And this opinion is thought to be further confirmed from this, that the name Ephraim is frequently used in Scripture to denote the whole kingdom of Israel, because (among other reasons) the capital city of the said kingdom was situated in that tribe.

There remains still one king more to be spoken of,

which I have reserved to this last place, (though not mentioned last in this twelfth chapter of Joshua,) partly because he is not said to have been the king of a *city*, as all the others are, but *the king of the nations of Gilgal*, at least as the words are rendered in our English and other translations; and partly, because one good means to discover the true meaning of this expression may be this, to consider together all the other kings mentioned in this chapter, from ver. 9. to ver. 24. and then to consider whether any tract remains in the land of Canaan, about Gilgal, wherein none of these kings were seated, and which consequently might be denoted by the *nations of Gilgal*. The only king then mentioned near Gilgal in this chapter is the king of Jericho, which lay to the west of Gilgal. To the south of Jericho, and so of Gilgal, lay the Salt sea. But to the north of Gilgal, towards and as far as the sea of Cinneroth or Galilee, is a considerable tract, within which it does not appear that there was seated any one of the cities, the kings whereof are related here to be slain by the Israelites. Whence it follows, that by *the nations of Gilgal* may be denoted the inhabitants of this tract. Some take Goim, which we render *the nations*, to be a proper name; and so it might be but the name of one city lying on the north of Gilgal. Others suppose Gilgal to be a corrupt reading for Gelil, and consequently that by the *nations of Gilgal*, or rather *Gelil*, is denoted the country elsewhere called in Scripture, *Galilee of the Nations* or *Gentiles*. These are the several chiefest opinions; and the reader is left to follow which he pleases, nothing of certainty being determinable.

In the following chapters of Joshua, viz. from chap. xiii. to xxi. inclusively, after a short account of what then remained of the land of Canaan unconquered by the Israelites; and a recapitulation of the division of the country beyond Jordan by Moses between the two tribes of Gad and Reuben, and the half tribe of Manasseh; there follows an account of the division of the land of Canaan itself between the other nine tribes, and the other half tribe of

CHAP. IV.

47.

Of the king
of the na-
tions of
Gilgal.

48.

Of Shiloh.

PART II. Manasseh; of which I shall speak distinctly in the following chapter of this treatise. I shall here proceed with the history of the book of Joshua, to the end thereof; and, in relation hereunto, there is nothing to be here remarked in all the forementioned chapters, but the assembling of the whole congregation of the children of Israel at Shiloh, and setting up there the tabernacle of the congregation, which is mentioned chap. xviii. ver. 1. It is to be observed, that in this tabernacle was the ark kept. And accordingly we find, that the ark remained here in Shiloh, not only all the remainder of Joshua's life, but also all the times of the judges of Israel, to the time of Samuel the prophet, and just before the death of Eli the priest; as appears from 1 Sam. iv. 3, &c. This place was situated in the tribe of Ephraim, about ten or twelve miles from Neapolis, (or Sichem,) in the Acrabatene region, as Eusebius and Jerom inform us. Others tell us, that it lay but two hours travelling from Jerusalem, and consequently in the south part of the tribe of Ephraim. Some will have the ark to be placed here by the immediate direction of God, because it is said, Deut. xii. 10, 11. *When ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land;—then there shall be a place which the Lord shall choose to cause his name to dwell there, &c.* But this seems rather to be understood of Jerusalem, that being all along in Scripture said to be the place, where God caused *his name to dwell*; and the royal Psalmist expressly says, that God chose not the tribe of Ephraim, but the tribe of Judah, for an *habitation* for himself, Psal. lxxviii. 67, 68. and cxxxii. 13. The reason therefore of placing the ark in the tribe of Ephraim, at first, might be no other than this, because Joshua was himself of that tribe; who was to be, during his life, the chief administrator of the government; and therefore it was but proper for the tabernacle and the ark to be in the same tribe. It is further to be remarked here, that, together with the tabernacle and ark, the camp of the Israelites was removed from Gilgal to Shiloh, that is, the camp of the seven tribes, that had not yet their lots assigned

them. For before the removal to Shiloh we find, that CHAP. IV.
 only the two tribes of Judah and Ephraim and the half
 tribe of Manasseh had their inheritances allotted them:
 the description of which therefore is contained in the
 preceding chapters, viz. xv. xvi. and xvii. Whereas the
 division of the land among the other seven tribes (Benja-
 min, Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asser, Nephtali, and
 Dan) is not related till after the removal to Shiloh, viz.
 chap. xviii. and xix. In chap. xx. and xxi. we have an ac-
 count of the cities of refuge, and of the Levitical cities,
 and in chap. xxii. of Joshua's dismissing the tribes of Reu-
 ben and Gad, together with the half tribe of Manasseh on
 the east of Jordan, in order to their return to their own
 inheritances.

Then chap. xxiii. and xxiv. the book of Joshua con-
 cludes, with giving an account of his exhortation to the
 Israelites before his death, and his renewing the covenant
 between God and them at Shechem; and that he died at
 the age of an hundred and ten years, and was *buried in*
the border of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which is in
mount Ephraim, on the north side of the hill of Gaash, chap.
 xxiv. ver. 30. We find chap. xix. ver. 50. that this city
 was given by the Israelites to Joshua, upon his choice
 thereof, and upon God's direction to them for to gratify
 so worthy a person in such his request. It lay in mount
 Ephraim, i. e. in the mountainous, and so the southern
 part of that tribe, wherein (as we before observed) lay also
 Shiloh. As to the expression, *on the north side of the hill*
of Gaash, it is capable of several senses, either that the
 city took up the north part of the said hill, or that it lay
 northwards of the said hill, or that Joshua was buried on
 the north part of the hill, or northwards of it. The city
 is, by a transposition of two letters in the latter part of
 the name, otherwise called Timnath-heres, Judg. ii. 9.
 Eusebius and Jerom suppose this to have been the same
 with Timnath in the tribe of Dan, (mention whereof is
 made in the history of Sampson;) but this must be a mis-
 take, it being expressly said in the text above cited, that it

49.

Of Tim-
nath-serah.

PART II. lay in mount Ephraim. It seems probable from Judg. i. 35. that Timnath-serah or Timnath-heres lay near to the tribe of Dan, for there we read of *mount Heres in Aijalon* belonging to the children of Dan. But on one part of this mount probably lay Timnath-heres, where the sepulchre of Joshua was shewn in the days of Eusebius and Jerom.

50. As to Gaash, we have it mentioned in Scripture only in
Of Gaash. reference to Joshua, and in the catalogue of David's mighty men; among whom was *Hiddai of the brooks or valleys of Gaash*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 30. which brooks or valleys might be so called, as adjoining to the foot of the hill Gaash. And thus we have gone through the geographical part of the book of Joshua, excepting what relates to the division of the land of Canaan among the nine tribes and a half, which we come now to speak of in the chapter following.

CHAP. V.

Of the Division of the Land of Canaan, and the Levitical Cities, and Cities of Refuge; as also of the more remarkable Mountains or Hills, lying round or within the whole Land of Israel.

AS in the book of Joshua we have an account given us of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, so in the same we have also given us an account of the division of the said country among the Israelites. For the better understanding of which division, it seems requisite to observe here, that the Israelites (so called, as being the descendants of Jacob, otherwise named by God himself Israel) were distinguished into twelve tribes, according to the number of the immediate sons of Israel, who are therefore styled the *twelve Patriarchs*, as being the heads of the said tribes, Acts vii. 9.

1.
The Israelites distinguished into twelve tribes.

Now the names of the twelve Patriarchs, according to the order of their birth, were these: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph, and Benjamin. Of these Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun, were born to Israel by his wife Leah; Joseph and Benjamin, by his wife Rachel; Dan and Naphtali, by Bilhah, Rachel's maid; and Gad and Asher, by Zilpah, Leah's maid. And it is remarkable, that this last order (not that of their nativity or birth) is observed by Moses, in naming the Patriarchs, that went down with Jacob into Egypt, Exod. i. 2—4.

2.
The names of the twelve tribes.

Of these twelve tribes, it pleased God to choose that of Levi to *minister about holy things*, and to wait at his altar, and therefore to ordain, that this tribe should *live* or be maintained of the things of the temple, and should be *partakers with the altar*; and so be freed from the common concerns of life. Hereupon in the division of the land of Canaan, as also of the country beyond Jordan, though

3.
The twelve tribes, among which the land of Israel was divided, how to be reckoned up.

PART II. the whole was divided into twelve parts, according to the number of the tribes, yet not one of these twelve parts was allotted to the tribe of Levi. But the two branches of the posterity of Joseph, viz. Ephraim and Manasseh, were reckoned as two distinct tribes, and so had distinct divisions allotted them. Whence the twelve tribes, in a geographical sense, or among whom the land of Canaan and the country beyond Jordan were divided, are to be reckoned up thus, according to their geographical order or situation, beginning from the south of the land of Canaan, viz. the tribe of Judah, Simeon, Dan, Benjamin, Ephraim, Manasseh, (namely, one half of it,) Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, (these lay all west of Jordan; and to the east of that river, besides the other half of the tribe of Manasseh, lay the two remaining tribes of) Gad and Reuben. Of each of these I shall speak, in the order wherein they have been here reckoned up.

4. Of the tribe
of Judah. To begin then with the tribe of Judah, the most considerable, as upon other accounts, so especially because our blessed Lord was descended of it. And it is not to be thought, that it was merely casual, that, in the division of the land of Canaan, regard was primarily had to this tribe; and that accordingly, in the sacred history, the lot which fell to this tribe is first taken notice of, namely, Josh. xv.

5. Its southern
border. In this chapter we are told, ver. 1. that the lot of the tribe of Judah was next *to the border of Edom*, i. e. in the southern part of the land of Canaan. And then from ver. 2. to ver. 12. we have the bounds of this tribe specified as to the four quarters of the world. We learn, ver. 2—4. that *the south border thereof was from the shore of the Salt sea*, and more particularly *from the bay of it that looks southward*, i. e. from the south part of the Salt sea, or Asphaltite lake, which is narrowed into the shape of a bay. This was the east end of the south border, which from hence stretched itself westward, *passing along to Zin*, (mentioned in the journeys of the Israelites, and there seems to be otherwise called Kadesh,) and thence *going up on the*

south side to (the other Kadesh near the wilderness of Pa- CHAP. V.
ran, and for distinction sake called) Kadesh-barnea, and so
coming unto the river of Egypt, (lying, as has been already
observed, near Gaza on the west side,) and so running
along with the course of that river to the Mediterranean
sea. Such was the south coast of the tribe of Judah.

Its east coast or border was the length of the Salt sea, 6.
from its southern point to its northern, even unto the end Its eastern
of Jordan, i. e. unto the north part of the Salt sea, where border.
Jordan falls into it. Compare Josh. xviii. 19.

The border in the north quarter was from the bay of the 7.
Salt sea, which is at the uttermost part of the river Jordan, Its north-
(that is, where Jordan empties itself into the Salt sea; and ern border
so this north border was in short from the north bay or and west-
end of the Salt sea.) Hence it ran westward by the valley ern.
of Achor, and by Enrogel, and so by the valley of the son
of Hinnom, to the south side of Jerusalem, thence to the top
of the mountain that lies before the valley of Hinnom west-
ward, which is at the end of the valley of Giants north-
ward. Thence the border was drawn to Kirjath-jearim,
and so passed along unto the side of mount Jearim, and went
down to Bethshemesh, and passed on to Timnah; and so to
the side of Ekron northward, and the goings out or end of
this north border westward were at the Mediterranean sea.
And this same Great sea (the name whereby in Scripture
is denoted the Mediterranean sea) was the west border of
this tribe.

In Josh. xix. 1—9. we read that the lot came forth for 8.
the tribe of Simeon, and that its inheritance was within The situa-
the inheritance of the children of Judah, or out of the por- tion of the
tion at first allotted to the children of Judah. For the part tribe of Si-
of the children of Judah was too much for them. Therefore mecn.
the children of Simeon had their inheritance within the in-
heritance of them. Accordingly the same cities, which we
find ch. xv. ver. 26—32. allotted at first to the tribe of
Judah, are afterwards, ch. xix. ver. 2—8. assigned to the
tribe of Simeon. And, forasmuch as these cities appear
from chap. xv. ver. 21. to be some of the uttermost cities of

PART II. *the tribe of the children of Judah, toward the coast of Edom southward*; hence it is not without good reason, that the tribe of Simeon is placed in the south part of the tribe of Judah, after such a manner as may be better apprehended by looking on the map belonging to this chapter, than described by words.

9.
The situa-
tion of the
tribe of
Dan.

In like manner, because by comparing Josh. xv. 33, &c. with xix. 41, &c. it appears, that some other of the cities at first allotted to the tribe of Judah were afterwards assigned to the tribe of Dan; hence it is rationally supposed, that the inheritance of the tribe of Dan was within the inheritance of the tribe of Judah; and consequently it is, I think with universal agreement, placed by geographers in the western part of the portion at first allotted to the children of Judah. As to the more particular situation thereof, there is not so universal an agreement; some making it to take up at the north-west part of the portion at first allotted to the tribe of Judah, and so to join on to the tribe of Benjamin or Ephraim; others supposing some part of the tribe of Judah to come in between those of Dan and Benjamin, or Ephraim.

10.
The situa-
tion of the
tribe of
Benjamin.

To the north, at least to the north-east, of the tribe of Judah was situated the tribe of Benjamin; as is evident from comparing Josh. xviii. 15—19. with xv. 5—9. For the same border, which is assigned in this last place for the north border of Judah, is in the former place assigned for the south border of Benjamin. Whence it follows, that these two tribes must be contiguous one to the other, Judah lying to the south, and Benjamin to the north. That *Jordan was the border of this tribe on the east side*, we are expressly told Josh. xviii. 20. And we read in the same chapter, ver. 12—14. that the border on the north side was *from Jordan to the side of Jericho, on the north side thereof, and went up through the mountains westward, and the goings out thereof were at the wilderness of Beth-aven*. Hence seems to be reckoned the west border, when it is said, ver. 13, 14. *that the border went over from thence towards Bethel, to the side of Bethel southward, and thence*

descended near the hill that lies on the south side of the ne-
ther Beth-horon; and was drawn thence, and compassed the
corner of the west southward, from the hill that lies before
Beth-horon southward; and the goings out thereof were at
Kirjath-jearim, a city of the children of Judah. This was
the west quarter.

It is not to be omitted, that there are some who make
the tribe of Benjamin to extend from the river Jordan east-
ward to the Mediterranean sea westward. And this opi-
nion seems to be entirely grounded on the Hebrew ex-
pression used in the beginning of the fourteenth verse:
where, according to a literal translation, it is said of the
west border, that it *compassed the corner of the sea south-
ward*. But it is evident enough from what is said in other
places of Scripture, that the tribe of Benjamin did not
reach to the *sea* westward. And indeed it is, I think,
plainly enough intimated in ver. 12. of this very chapter,
that the Hebrew word signifying the *sea* is not to be in
this description understood literally, but figuratively, so as
to import the *west*, on which side the *sea* (i. e. the Great
or Mediterranean sea) lay. Hence the word in our Eng-
lish translation is rendered ver. 12. as importing, not the
sea, but the *west*; and so it would, I conceive, have been
best rendered in the fourteenth verse also. And the plain
meaning of the expression there used, viz. *compassed the
corner of the west*, seems to be this, that the west border
did there make an *angle* or *corner*, as may be seen in the
map.

To the north of the tribe of Benjamin was situated the
lot that fell to the children of Joseph; as is clear from
Josh. xviii. 11. where it is said, that *the coast of the lot of
Benjamin came forth between the children of Judah and the
children of Joseph*. Since therefore the children of Judah
lay to the south of the children of Benjamin, it follows,
that the children of Joseph lay to the north of them. It
is also evident from Josh. xvi. 1—3. that the lot of the
children of Joseph reached from Jordan eastward to the
Mediterranean sea westward; and from comparing chap.

CHAP. V.

11.

A difficulty
cleared.

12.

Of the
tribe of
Ephraim,
and half
tribe of Ma-
nasseh,
west of
Jordan.

PART II. xvi. ver. 7. with chap. xvii. ver. 11. it appears, that it reached from the tribe of Benjamin southwards to the tribe of Asher and Issachar northward. Lastly, it is also clear, that, of the two branches of the house of Joseph, the lot that appertained to Ephraim was south to that which appertained to Manasseh, as to the main. For from chap. xvi. ver. 5—7. it appears, that the tribe of Ephraim bordered on the tribe of Benjamin, Ataroth-addar and Jericho being mentioned as lying in the coast of Ephraim, as well as they are mentioned in the coast of Benjamin, chap. xviii. ver. 12, 13. As for the more particular description, either of the general coast of the children of Joseph, or of the particular coasts, which bounded Ephraim from Manasseh, it carries in it a great deal of obscurity, and consequently of difficulty, and therefore I have not troubled the reader here with it. Only it must be noted, that what is here said of Manasseh is to be understood of that half of it, which was situated on the west of Jordan.

13. Of the tribe of Issachar. To the north, and more particularly to the north-east, of the half tribe of Manasseh lay the tribe of Issachar; the coast or border whereof went by Jezreel, and the famous mountain Tabor; and *its outgoings were at Jordan*, Josh. xix. 17—22. Some extend this tribe quite to the Mediterranean sea. But it being plainly said, Josh. xvii. 10. that the lots of Ephraim and Manasseh *met together in Asher on the north, and in Issachar on the east*; hence it seems necessarily to follow, that Issachar could not reach westward to the sea.

14. Of the tribe of Zebulun. To the north and west of Issachar lay the tribe of Zebulun. That it lay to the north, is agreed on by geographers. And that it must turn round likewise to the west of Issachar, seems easy enough to be inferred from Judg. v. 19. For there is mention made of Taanach and Megiddo, two cities of the half tribe of Manasseh, as lying near or upon the river Kishon; which is agreed to be one of the boundaries of Zebulun, forasmuch as in this tribe lay mount Tabor, from which the river Kishon arises. In short, the Jewish historian Josephus tells us, that the tribe

of Asher, the tribe of Zebulun, and half tribe of Manasseh, CHAP. V.
came up all of them to mount Carmel. Jewish Antiq.

book v. chap. i.

From what has been already said occasionally, it plainly 15.
appears, that the tribe of Asher lay to the north of the ^{Of the tribe}
half tribe of Manasseh, and to the west of Zebulun, and ^{of Asher.}
consequently was a maritime country. Hence it is said of
the people thereof in the Song of Deborah, Judg. v. 17.
Asher continued on the sea-shore, and abode in his creeks.
The length of this tribe is clearly set out in the sacred ac-
count of it; inasmuch as therein it is said, that it reached
to mount Carmel, and to great Zidon; the former where-
of was its boundary to the south, as the latter was to the
north, being the boundary of the whole land of Canaan
on this north point, Gen. x. 19. So that within this tribe
lay also the strong and celebrated city Tyre, called by the
Hebrews, Tzor or Zor; whence the whole adjoining coun-
try came to have the name of Syria given it by the
Greeks. Within the same tribe lay also the city Achzib,
probably thought to be the same that by the Greeks was
called Ecdippa; and which at present is called Zib; and
also Accho, once a celebrated port, and called by the
Greeks Ptolemais, but now-a-days it goes by a name
somewhat resembling, if not framed from, its old name,
viz. Acra or Acri.

Of the nine tribes and a half, that lay on the west of 16.
Jordan, there remains now only one to be mentioned, ^{Of the tribe}
which is the tribe of Nephtali or Naphtali. And this took ^{of Nephtali.}
up most of the northern part of the land of Canaan, lying
between mount Lebanon to the north, and the tribe of
Zebulun and the sea of Cinneroth to the south; and be-
tween Asher to the west, and the river Jordan to the east,
Josh. xix. 34. There is indeed in this verse no mention
made, that Nephtali reached to the sea of Cinneroth; but
it is plain to be inferred from the next verse, where Cin-
nereth (from which the sea took that name) is mentioned
as one of the fenced cities of Nephtali.

Before we leave this tribe, we must take notice of a

PART II. difficulty, which occurs as to the description given of its extent in the forecited Josh. xix. 34. The words whereof

17. run thus: *The coast—reaches to Zebulon on the south side, and reaches to Asher on the west side, and to Judah upon Jordan toward the sun-rising.* It is then asked, how Nephtali could be said *to reach to Judah*, when there were several tribes situated between. And to solve this question, commentators have produced several expositions, but such as to me seem to be forced. I shall not here stand to shew the weakness of the opinions produced by them; but shall only observe, that it seems most natural and easy, by Judah here to understand, not the tribe of that name, and lying at a considerable distance, but rather some place so called, and lying on the river Jordan in the border of Nephtali eastward. Had the tribe of Judah been here meant, there had been no occasion for adding thereto the word Jordan; nor could it be properly added, that tribe lying not upon Jordan. Whereas the tribe being not meant, but some other place, hence it became requisite to distinguish this place from the tribe of Judah, by calling it *Judah of Jordan* or *upon Jordan*, this name being not truly applicable to the tribe of Judah; forasmuch as that lay wholly on the Salt sea, the north border of it beginning eastward, *from the bay of the Salt sea, at the uttermost part of Jordan*, Josh. xv. 5. and as it is expressed more clearly Josh. xviii. 19. *from the north bay of the Salt sea, at the south end of Jordan.* For the north border of Judah was the same with the south border of Benjamin, as far as this last reached westward. What I have here offered receives some strength from the Seventy Interpreters; who take no notice of the word Judah, but only of the river Jordan, which they make the eastern border of Nephtali, agreeably to truth. Whence it follows, that either there was no such word in the copy or copies they used, but that it has since crept in some how or other; or else if the word Jehudah or Judah was in their copies, they were apprehensive it could not be rationally understood of the tribe of Judah, but must be

A difficulty
solved.

understood of some place lying on the river Jordan in the borders of Nephtali. And because they did not know at that time of day where the place was, which was so particularly distinguished by the name of *Judah upon Jordan*, therefore they thought it advisable to make no mention of it, but to mention only Jordan (on which it stood) as the east border of Nephtali. CHAP. V.

And thus I have shewn the situation of the nine tribes, and the half tribe that lay on the west of Jordan. As for the other two tribes and a half, that lay on the east of Jordan, I have spoken of them before, chap. iii. §. 17—19, and therefore shall only observe here further, what tribes lay on each side of Jordan, opposite one to the other. Over-against then the tribes of Nephtali and Zebulon, and the upper part of Issachar on the west of Jordan, lay on the east of that river the half tribe of Manasseh. And over-against the lower or southern part of Issachar, and the other half tribe of Manasseh on the west, lay the tribe of Gad to the east. And lastly, over-against the children of Joseph, and the tribes of Benjamin and the north part of the tribe of Judah, on the west, lay the tribe of Reuben to the east.

In laying down the situation of the forementioned tribes, I have purposely avoided mentioning abundance of names, (some of cities or towns, others of other places,) which are mentioned on this account in the sacred history; forasmuch as they are most of them very seldom mentioned any where else in the sacred history; and therefore are not only of uncertain situation, but also of very little use to be known by us, as giving little or no light to the understanding of the more remarkable transactions recorded in the sacred volumes. Such places as are requisite to be known in reference to such more remarkable transactions, and of whose situation we have any account worth the taking notice of, I have judged it more proper to speak of as the said transactions occur in the series of the sacred history, than here under their several tribes, to which they appertained.

18.

The respective situation of the tribes west of Jordan, to those that lay east of the same river.

19.

A remark concerning the method observed in describing the situation of the tribes, &c.

PART II.

20.
Of the Levitical cities.

There are indeed two or three sorts of cities which I judged proper to take notice of here, (at least in general,) though many of them may be remarkable on no other account in the sacred history, than for those I am going to speak of. It has been above observed, that, in the division of the land, *the Levites had no part* among the rest of the Israelites; *for the priesthood of the Lord was their inheritance*. However they could not be without habitation; and therefore there were certain cities assigned them to dwell in, which from thence are generally styled *the Levitical cities*. Of these we have a very particular account Josh. xxi. For the better understanding whereof, it must be observed, that Levi had three sons, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari; and that of Kohath was descended Aaron the priest, or high-priest.

21.
Their number, and the method how they were assigned to the several families of the Levites.

Now as the division of the land of Canaan was assigned to each tribe by lot, so also were the cities assigned to each branch of the Levites by lot. Thus we read, Josh. xxi. 4—7. that *the children of Aaron the priest had by lot, out of the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, thirteen cities: and the rest of the Kohathites had by lot, out of the tribes of Ephraim, Dan, and the half tribe of Manasseh westward, ten cities. And the children of Gershon had by lot, out of the tribes of Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, i. e. on the east of Jordan, thirteen cities. And the children of Merari had, out of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Zebulun, twelve cities.* So that the number of the Levitical cities were in all forty-eight.

22.
Of the sacerdotal cities.

Among these Levitical cities there were, as is above said, thirteen assigned to the children of Aaron, the *priests*, which are therefore by some writers distinguished by the name of the *sacerdotal* or *priests'* cities. For though Aaron and his children, the *priests*, were of the tribe of Levi, and so were *Levites*; yet all that were *Levites* were not *priests*; but the priesthood appertained to the children of Aaron. So that from the beginning of God's giving rules for the outward order and govern-

ment of his church here on earth, there have been three CHAP. V.
 orders instituted among those that minister about holy
 things; namely, the *high priest*, the *priest*, and the *Le-*
vite, under the legal economy, or in the Jewish church;
 and, answerable hereunto, the *bishop*, the *priest*, and the
deacon, under the Gospel dispensation, or in the Christian
 church.

Concerning the thirteen *sacerdotal* cities, it is obser-
 vable, that they all fell within the tribes of Judah, Si-
 meon, and Benjamin; which is not improbably thought
 to have been so ordered by a peculiar direction of divine
 Providence. Not that this providential care consisted so
 much in providing that the sacerdotal cities should be
 such of the Levitical cities as were at the least distance
 from Jerusalem, (where the service of the Lord was
 especially to be performed during the Levitical dispensa-
 tion;) for some of the other Levitical cities assigned to
 other families of the Levites in other tribes were as near
 to Jerusalem as some of the sacerdotal cities. For in-
 stance, Shechem in Ephraim was as near and nearer than
 Debir in Judah, or Ain in the tribe of Simeon, according
 to the situation assigned them by those that favour the
 opinion above mentioned. Hence it seems more natural
 to suppose, that the providential care in assigning the
 sacerdotal cities consisted not so much in providing, that
 they should be such as were nearest to Jerusalem, but in
 some other respect; namely, in providing that they
 should be such, as (upon the revolt of the ten tribes from
 the house of David) should be situated in those parts of
 the Holy Land, which should remain subject to the house
 of David, as should Jerusalem itself, the place of God's
 more especial worship in those days, and where conse-
 quently the priests were to attend in their several courses.
 Had the *sacerdotal* cities been situated in such tribes as
 revolted, it is not to be doubted but the kings of Israel
 would not have permitted the priests to have gone up to
 Jerusalem, to perform their offices as they ought; and
 therefore they must either have quitted the cities assigned

23.

Their situa-
 tion provi-
 dentially
 assigned
 within the
 kingdom of
 Judah.

PART II. them within the kingdom of Israel, so called in distinction to that of Judah, and have had others assigned them within the limits of the kingdom of Judah, or else must have quitted the office and service they were set apart for. To prevent both which great inconveniencies, we may reasonably suppose, that the all-wise God did at first so order the lots, that, of the thirteen sacerdotal cities, twelve fell within the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, which adhered to the house of David. And though the other (whether it was Ain, as is said Josh. xxi. 16. or Ashan, as is said 1 Chron. vi. 59.) was in the tribe of Simeon, which was one of the ten tribes that revolted from the house of David; yet it is not to be doubted but this sacerdotal city still adhered to the house of David, and was in all probability situated on the very edge of the tribe of Judah, or so as that the Simeonites could or durst give it no disturbance on that account. Indeed it seems probable, not to say certain, from several places of Scripture, that though ten tribes are said in general to revolt from the house of David, yet this is not to be so understood, as if every particular city within the said tribes were presently in the hands of the kings of Israel. On the contrary, though the said tribes in general did so revolt, yet it appears plain from sacred history, that several places within such of the said tribes, that bordered on the kingdom of Judah, still remained in the hands of the kings of Judah. And among these was the sacerdotal city Ain, or Ashan, reckoned among the cities of the tribe of Simeon, Josh xix. Which is put beyond all doubt, by what is said 1 Chron. vi. 57—60. where we have the sacerdotal city Ashan reckoned as a city of Judah; and no mention made of any sacerdotal city lying in the tribe of Simeon, but only in the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin.

24. I need not stand here to give the reader a catalogue of the eight and forty *Levitical* cities, since they are plainly set down Josh. xxi. and such as are more remarkable among them I either have taken or shall take notice of, as

The six cities of refuge.

I go along the series of the sacred history. The *cities of* CHAP. V.
refuge, being but six in all, I shall name here, viz. Kedesh
 in Galilee in mount Nephtali, and Shechem in mount
 Ephraim, and Hebron in the mountain of Judah, and
 Bezer in the tribe of Reuben, and Ramoth-Gilead in the
 tribe of Gad, and Golan in the tribe of Manasseh. Of
 these the three former lay on the west of Jordan, the
 three latter on the east. And it is observable, that all
 the cities of *refuge* were also *Levitical* cities. The design
 of these cities of *refuge* is taught us, Josh. xx. 2, &c.
 namely, that *the slayer, that kills any person unawares,*
might flee thither for refuge from the avenger of blood.

I proceed now to speak of the principal mountains, or 25.
 hills, that lie round or within the Holy Land. And I Of mount
 shall begin with mount Lebanon, as not only lying along Lebanon.
 the north coast of the Holy Land, but being also the
 largest mountain here to be taken notice of; and of
 which several other of the mountains, that are mentioned
 in the holy Scripture, are only branches. This moun-
 tain then, called in Hebrew Lebanon, is by the Greeks
 (and Latins from them) called Libanus; and extends
 itself from the neighbourhood of Sidon westward, to the
 neighbourhood of Damascus eastward. It consists of two
 principal ridges or ranges, which are distinguished by
 Greek writers by two different names; one ridge being
 peculiarly called Libanus, the other Anti-Libanus, i. e.
 the ridge *opposite* to the ridge properly called Libanus.
 And these two ridges are not only opposite one to an-
 other, but also parallel, as Mr. Maundrell^b informs us,
 and exactly resembling each other. Which of these ridges
 was properly called Libanus, which Anti-Libanus, is not
 well agreed upon among writers. Some make the south-
 ern or south-west ridge, lying next to the Holy Land and
 Sidon, to be the Libanus properly so called; and the
 northern or north-east ridge, lying towards Damascus, to
 be the Anti-Libanus. Others are of a quite contrary

^b Journey from Aleppo, &c. p. 118.

PART II. opinion; among whom is the famous geographer Ptolemy, and also the Seventy Interpreters; who, when they speak of that part of mount Lebanon, which lies next to the Holy Land, render the Hebrew word Lebanon by the Greek Anti-Libanus; plainly denoting thereby, that by this latter name they understood the southern ridge of Lebanon to be peculiarly distinguished. However, it appears both from Le Bruyn and our countryman Mr. Maundrell, that the former opinion obtains among those that inhabit these parts now-a-days. But enough of these names.

26.
Of the
snow there.

Mr. Maundrell (p. 140. of his Journey from Aleppo, &c.) tells us, that in a certain part of this mountain, which is free from rocks, and only rises and falls with small easy unevennesses, for several hours riding, he found it to be perfectly barren and desolate. The ground, where not concealed by snow, appeared to be covered with a sort of white slates, thin and smooth. The chief benefit it serves for, adds the same writer, is, that by its exceeding height it proves a conservatory for abundance of snow; which, thawing in the heat of summer, affords supplies of water to the rivers and fountains in the valleys below. We saw in the snow (says he, and that May 6.) the prints of the feet of several wild beasts, which are the sole proprietors of these upper parts of the mountain. Le Bruyn tells us, p. 220, that it was January the 12th, that he set out for to see this mountain, and that they were constrained to take along with them some people of the country, who knew the road across the snow; for without such assistance it would have been impossible for them to have reached to their journey's end. He adds, that at that time of the year the snow before sun-rising was almost as hard as ice, which made the road very tiresome; and yet however they were obliged to make all the haste they could back again, that they might repass the snow, before the heat of the sun had melted it. For when the snow begins to melt, a man runs a great risk; and it often happens, that the too long stay of the curious costs

them their lives, they being drowned in the water of the snow, which is on all sides like so many mountains. He adds, that it was between ten and eleven o'clock before they began to return; at which time the sun began to draw near to his height, and to be warm. Insomuch that in their return they found the snows so much melted in several places, that sometimes one, sometimes another, sunk in them, and that some of them up to the waist. Upon the top of this mountain, Le Bruyn tells us, there was nothing else to be seen, when he was there, but the sky and mountains of snow; which is in so great plenty, that many of the cedars are almost covered with it; and were it not for the wind, they would be all quite buried under it.

As for the cedars of Lebanon, these noble trees (says Mr. Maundrell, p. 142. of his Journey, &c.) grow amongst the snow, near the highest part of the mountain, and are remarkable, as well for their own age and largeness, as for those frequent allusions made to them in the word of God. Here are some of them very old, and of a prodigious bulk; and others younger, of a smaller size. Of the former, adds he, I could reckon up only sixteen; the latter are very numerous. I measured one of the largest, and found it twelve yards six inches in girth, and yet sound; and thirty-seven yards in the spread of its boughs. At about five or six yards from the ground, it was divided into five limbs, each of which was equal to a great tree. Le Bruyn also tells us, that he had the curiosity to measure the bigness of two of the most remarkable cedars; and that he found one to be fifty-seven spans about, and the other forty-seven. Le Bruyn adds, that whilst he was upon the snow, he gathered off the top of the cedars some of its fruit; and broke off several little branches to preserve the leaves of them, which are like to rosemary leaves. Though these trees were, when he saw them, covered almost all over with snow, yet they are always green; the little leaves of the branches shooting upwards,

27.

Of the cedars of Lebanon.

PART II. whilst the fruit, much like to a pine-apple, hangs downwards.

28. We must not leave mount Lebanon, before we have taken notice of a convent here, which is generally visited by travellers. The name of it is Canobin, or, as Le Bruyn adds, Stinoba, which signifies a convent of monks. It is a convent of the Maronites, or Christians of those parts, and the seat of their patriarch, who was (when Mr. Maundrell visited it) F. Stephanus Edenensis, a person of great learning and humanity. The patriarch of these Maronites is said to take to himself the style of the patriarch of Antioch. As for the convent, it is a very mean structure; but its situation is admirably adapted for retirement and devotion. For there is a very deep rupture in the side of Libanus, running at least seven hours travel directly up into the mountain. It is, on both sides, exceeding steep and high, clothed with fragrant greens from top to bottom, and every where refreshed with fountains, falling down from the rocks in pleasant cascades, the ingenious work of nature, as the ingenious Mr. Maundrell^a expresses it. These streams all uniting at the bottom, make a full and rapid torrent, whose agreeable murmuring is heard over all this place, and adds no small pleasure to it. These waters seem to be referred to Cant. iv. 15. *A fountain of gardens; a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon.* Canobin is seated on the north side of this chasm, on the steep of the mountain, at about the midway between the top and the bottom. It stands at the mouth of a great cave, having a few small rooms fronting outward, that enjoy the light of the sun; the rest are all underground. It had for its founder the Emperor Theodosius the Great; and though it has been several times rebuilt, yet the patriarch assured Mr. Maundrell, that the church was of the primitive foundation. But whoever built it, it is a mean fabric, and no great credit to its founder. It

^a P. 142, 143. of Journey from Aleppo, &c.

stands in the grot, but fronting outward, receives a little light from that side. In the same side there hung in the wall two small bells, to call the monks to their devotions; a privilege allowed no where else in this country; nor would they be suffered here, but that the Turks are far enough off from the hearing of them. CHAP. V.

The valley of Canobin was anciently very much resorted to for religious retirement. You see here still hermitages, cells, monasteries almost without number. There is not any little part of rock that jets out upon the side of the mountain, but you generally see some little structure upon it, for the reception of monks and hermits; though few or none of them are now inhabited. 29.
Of the valley where
Canobin stands.

Le Bruyn tells us, that in his esteem Canobin is a very pleasant place; and though it was winter when he was there, yet he must needs own, that he never saw any thing more charming in his life; insomuch that he could have wished to have spent some months there. Here are partridges as tame as our yard-fowls. They fly about ten paces, and then light on the ground again, and seem to have no manner of fear of a man. But, besides this, Canobin would be, adds he, preferable to all other places, upon the account of its wines, which are the richest and finest in the world. They are of a very sweet red colour, and so oily that they stick to the glass. The prophet Hosea alludes to them, chap. xiv. ver. 7. *They that dwell under his shadow shall return; they shall revive as the corn, and grow as the vine; the scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon.* 30.
Of the wine
of mount
Lebanon.

Some there are, who believe that Adam lived here, and the patriarch gave Le Bruyn to understand, that he was of that opinion. For proof whereof he alleged, that there are two mountains adjacent to Anti-Lebanon, which at this day are called, the one Cain, the other Abel. In the same place is likewise a town, with a very fine lake; and the natives believe it to have been built by Cain, and to be the most ancient city in the world. To this they add, that in process of time it was called Heliopolis, i. e. *the* 31.
Traditions
concerning
these parts.

PART II. *city of the Sun*; and agreeable hereto it is thought to be the same which is at this day called Balbeck. This city enjoys indeed (as Mr. Maundrell tells us, p. 135.) a most delightful and commodious situation. And at the south-west side of it is a noble ruin, being the only curiosity for which this place is wont to be visited. It was anciently an heathen temple, together with some other edifices belonging to it, all truly magnificent. At present it is converted into a castle, and under that name goes at this day.

32. *Of Eden.* Five leagues likewise from Canobin is another little town, inhabited by Christians, and called at present Eden: which name helps to confirm the Christians hereabouts in the opinion above mentioned, that in these parts was the terrestrial Paradise, or Eden, wherein Adam lived. Of this Eden I have taken notice elsewhere, Part I. chap. i. of this Geography of the Old Testament.

33. *Of the cedar-apple.* Le Bruyn concludes his chapter about mount Lebanon, with giving us a description of the *cedar-apple*, or fruit that these trees produce, in the same form and bigness as really they are. He tells us, that in order hereto he cut one of the apples in two, and found that the smell within was exactly like *turpentine*. There came out likewise some juice, though he had kept them by him for some time. This juice, which resembles *turpentine*, not only in smell, but likewise in its clamminess, proceeds from small oval grains, with which a great many small cavities are full. And thus much for mount Lebanon, so called in Scripture.

34. *Of mount Hermon.* The north-east part of this mountain, adjoining to the Holy Land, is in Scripture distinguished by the name of mount Hermon; which is consequently mentioned as the northern boundary of the country beyond Jordan, and more particularly of the kingdom of Og, or of the half tribe of Manasseh on the east of Jordan, Deut. iii. 8, 9, &c. In the verse last cited we are expressly told, that this Hermon went under divers names among divers people; that the Sidonians called it Sirion, and the Amorites called it Shenir. And chap. iv. ver. 48. we find this same mount,

instead of Sirion, called Sion; which, though in our English tongue it be written the very same way as the celebrated mountain of Jerusalem is frequently written, yet in the Hebrew text is spelt very differently; the name, whereby mount Hermon is here said to be called, being שִׁיֹּן *Sion*; the name, whereby the mount in Jerusalem, עֵיִן *Tzizon*. In like manner, the same mountain called by the Amorites Shenir, is elsewhere called Seir, (Josh. xi. 17.) where is mention made also of mount Halak, which seems to be no other than some part of mount Lebanon, perhaps so called from its *smoothness*, mount Halak denoting in the Hebrew the same as *the smooth mountain*. Again, this mount Hermon is, not without some ground of probability, thought to be the same which is called mount Hor, Num. xxxiv. 7, 8. For it is there said of the north border, that it should be *from mount Hor, unto the entrance of Hamath*; and in like manner Joshua, speaking chap. xiii. of the land that yet remained to be possessed, among other parts mentioned, ver. 5. *All Lebanon, toward the sun rising, from Baal-gad (a valley) under mount Hermon unto the entering into Hamath*. From comparing which two texts together, it seems probable, that *from mount Hermon unto the entering into Hamath*, and *from mount Hor unto the entrance of Hamath*, are equivalent or much the same expressions; and consequently mount Hor here mentioned the same with mount Hermon.

But besides this mount Hermon, lying on the north border of the country beyond Jordan, there is said to be another mount of the same name, and lying within the land of Canaan, on the west of the river Jordan, and not far from mount Tabor. Of this is understood Psalm lxxxix. 12. *The north and the south, thou hast created them; Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name*; as also Psalm cxxxiii. 3. *As the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descends upon the mountains of Zion*. Mr. Maundrell takes notice of this mount Hermon, (p. 57. of his Journey from Aleppo,) telling us, that, in three hours and a half from the river Kishon, he came to a small brook, near which

35.

Another
mount
Hermon on
the west of
Jordan.

PART II. was an old village and a good *kane* called Legune : not far from which, his company took up their quarters that night. From this place they had a large prospect of the plain of Esdraelon. At about six or seven hours distance eastward stood within view Nazareth, and the two mountains, Tabor and Hermon. We were, adds he, sufficiently instructed by experience, what the holy Psalmist means by the dew of Hermon, our tents being as wet with it, as if it had rained all night.

36.
Of mount
Gilead.

But to return to the coast or border of the Holy Land. As that branch of mount Lebanon, which bounded the country beyond Jordan northward, was peculiarly called mount Hermon ; so that other branch, which ran from mount Hermon southward, along the eastern coast of the country beyond Jordan, for a considerable way, namely, along the eastern coast of the half tribe of Manasseh, and great part of the tribe of Gad—this other branch or spur of mount Lebanon is in Scripture denoted by the name of mount Gilead, for the reason assigned Gen. xxxi. 48. and above spoken of, Part I. of the Geography of the Old Testament. Hence we read of some places lying in this tract or country, that were distinguished by the name of Gilead added to them, as Jabesh-Gilead, Ramoth-Gilead. It is also observable from Gen. xxxi. 49. that this mountain or mountainous country had also the name of Mizpah, or Mizpeh, imposed upon it. And hence we read of the Land of Mizpeh under mount Hermon, (Josh. xi. 3.) this being the same that is otherwise called the Land of Gilead, and so denoting the mountain and adjacent tract that lies next to mount Gilead, or Mizpah, and reaches up as far northward as mount Hermon. And on the same account I think it is not to be doubted, but that Ramath-Mizpeh (mentioned Josh. xiii. 26.) was no other than that city which in other parts of Scripture is called Ramoth-Gilead. Lastly, the word Gilead seems in some places of Scripture to denote, if not all, yet the greatest part of the country beyond Jordan, namely, all the half tribe of Manasseh, and the greatest part of the tribe of Gad.

But besides this mount Gilead on the east of the half tribe of Manasseh and the tribe of Gad, beyond Jordan, there is mention made (Judg. vii. 3.) of a mount Gilead, as lying west of Jordan in the lot of the children of Joseph. And Brocard the monk, in his Description of the Holy Land, chap. vii. makes mention of a mount Gilead, lying towards Jezreel, and so towards the mountains of Gilboa, which agrees well enough with the history of Gideon; in reference to which history, we shall speak more of this mount Gilead, supposed to lie on the west of Jordan.

CHAP. V.
37.
Of mount
Gilead on
the west of
Jordan.

In the south part of the country beyond Jordan lie the mountains, called in Scripture the mountains of Abarim; part whereof was distinguished by the names of mount Nebo and Pisgah: and of these I have spoken enough already; as also of mount Seir, lying to the south of Canaan, and inhabited by the posterity of Esau, or Edom. Beyond mount Seir westward runs a ridge of mountains, which part Canaan from Arabia, and which seems to be denoted in Scripture by the name of the mountain of the Amorites; some spurs or branches whereof run up northward to Hebron.

38.
On the
mountains
of the south
coast of the
Holy Land.

On the western coast of the Holy Land, the only remarkable mountain is that of mount Carmel, lying on the sea-coast at the south end of the tribe of Asher, and frequently mentioned in Scripture. Mount Carmel is, as Thevenot tells us, ten miles from Acre, or Ptolemais. At the foot of it stands the village Cayphas, which was formerly a town. Here is a convent of bare-footed Carmelites, a sort of monks so named. Thevenot found here two French fathers, and an Italian brother, who had been twenty years there. They observe a very severe rule; for beside that they are removed from all worldly conversation, they neither eat flesh nor drink wine; and if they need it, they must go to another place. Nor do they suffer pilgrims to eat flesh in their convent; only they allow them to drink wine. This convent is not on the top of

39.
Of mount
Carmel.

PART II. the mount, (where was once a very fine monastery, before the Christians lost the Holy Land, the ruins whereof are still to be seen;) but it is a very little one, somewhat lower, and needs no more than three monks to fill it; who would have much ado to subsist, if they had not some alms given them by the French merchants of Acre, that often go thither to their devotions. They have possessed this place thirty years, says Thevenot, since the time they were driven out of it, after that the Christians lost the Holy Land. It is the place where the prophet Elijah lived, and their church is the very grot, where some time he abode, which is very neatly cut out of the rock. From this convent they have an excellent prospect, especially towards the sea, where there are no bounds to their sight. About their convent they have a pretty hermitage, very well cultivated by the Italian brother, who has brought thither all the earth that is in it. And indeed it is very pleasant to see flowers and fruits growing upon a hill that is nothing but rock. Though the convent be very little, yet they have made a small, commodious, and very neat apartment for to lodge pilgrims; but they must not exceed the number of six. At a good league's distance from the convent is a well that the prophet Elijah is said to make spring out of the ground; and a little over it is another, said to be no less miraculous: the waters of both are very pleasant and good. The Arabs say, that all the while the monks were absent, after they had been driven hence, these wells yielded no water. Close by the last fountain are stately ruins of the convent of St. Brocard, who was sent thither by St. Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, to reform the hermits that lived there without rule or community.

40.
Of the
stone-me-
lons.

Not far from thence is the garden of the *stone-melons*, concerning which they tell you, that Elijah passing that way, desired a melon from a man that was gathering some; who in contempt answered the Prophet, that they were stones, and not melons; whereupon all the melons

were immediately turned into stones. Le Bruyn has obliged us with the figure of these melons in two forms, one melon being represented whole, the other opened in the middle. Le Bruyn tells us withal, that these stone-melons have the same shape on the outside as the true ones; and if one opens them, there are the same cavities as in the true ones: they have also some smell, which is pretty pleasant. There are also to be seen (adds the same writer) *capotonde*, as the Italians call them, or *stone-oysters*; and also *stone-olives*.

Near to the convent are shewn the grots of the prophets Elijah and Elisha; there is also a third, but it is walled up. Lower down towards the foot of the mountain is the cave where the prophet Elijah instructed the people. It is all cut very smooth in the rock, both above and below; it is about twenty paces in length, fifteen in breadth, and very high; and I think, says Thevenot, that it is one of the finest grots that can be seen. The Turks have made a little mosque there. Mount Carmel, and all the country thereabouts, is commanded by a prince named Emir Tharabee, says Thevenot, who pays yearly to the Grand Seignior a tribute of twelve horses.

41.

Of other particulars about mount Carmel.

As for mount Tabor, and the mount of the Beatitudes, and some other lying in the Holy Land, they have been already spoken of in my Geography of the New Testament. And as for mount Gilboah, I shall speak of it in the history of Saul; and so what other mountains are worth taking notice of lying in the Holy Land, I shall speak of them, as they come in my way, following the series of the sacred history.

42.

Of the other mountains or hills of the Holy Land.

And thus I have in this chapter laid before the reader what I judged proper to take notice of to him, concerning the division of the land of Canaan, and the country beyond Jordan, among the twelve tribes of Israel; as also concerning the *Levitical* cities, and the cities of *refuge*; and lastly, concerning the mountains or hills lying round

43.

The conclusion.

PART II. or within the Holy Land. And hereby I have brought the series of this my geographical undertaking as far as to the end of the book of Joshua. I shall now proceed to the geography of that part of the sacred history which is contained in the book of Judges.

CHAP. VI.

*Of the remarkable Places mentioned in the Book of Judges,
and not before spoken of.*

AFTER the death of Joshua, by the direction of God 1.
the men of Judah went up against the Canaanites, and Of Bezek.
slew of them in Bezek ten thousand men. Here they
found Adonibezek, whose thumbs and great toes they cut
off, he having treated (as himself confesses) threescore and
ten kings after that barbarous manner; after which being
brought to Jerusalem, there he died. Judg. i. 1—7. There
is likewise mention made of Bezek, 1 Sam. xi. 8. as the
place where Saul mustered the army, wherewith he gave
the Ammonites a signal overthrow there related. These
are the only two places of Scripture where Bezek is men-
tioned. And since Eusebius and Jerom tell us, that there
were in their days two towns so called, and near one an-
other, and distant seventeen miles from Neapolis or Sichem,
as one goes down to Scythopolis or Bethshan; and since
either of these places (which perhaps were both but one
city in former times) was well enough situated for the ar-
my of Saul to muster at, in order to march to the succour
of the men of Jabesh-Gilead; hence it may be probably
enough thought, that the Bezek mentioned 1 Sam. xi. 8.
stood here; and I see nothing of moment to hinder, but
that the same might be the Bezek taken by the men of
Judah in Judg. i. without supposing another Bezek to lie
within the tribe of Judah.

In the remaining part of Judg. i. we have several places 2.
mentioned; but either such as are spoken of already, or Of Bochim.
will more fitly be spoken of hereafter, when we come to
the passages of the sacred history, which have rendered
them remarkable; or else are barely mentioned, and not
memorable on any particular account, and so not worth
the mentioning here. The second chapter begins with

PART II. informing us, that an angel of the Lord came up from Gilgal to Bochim, and there reprov'd the Israelites for breaking their covenant with God, by making a league with the inhabitants of the land, &c. Whereupon *God had said, that he would not drive out the said inhabitants from before them; but they should be thorns in their sides, &c.* Upon which message the Israelites fell a weeping, whence they called the name of the place Bochim, i. e. *weepers.* That this place lay near to Shiloh is probably thought, because it follows, that *there they sacrificed unto the Lord;* whereas sacrifices were to be offered only there, where the Lord shall choose, and where the tabernacle was set up; which then was at Shiloh.

3.
Of Seirath,
and the co-
lumnns of
Seth.

The Israelites giving themselves over to wickedness, we read chap. iii. that God delivered them into the hands of the king of Mesopotamia for eight years; after which God re-delivered them upon their repentance. But falling back again into their former impiety, God permitted the Moabites to subdue them, and to possess *the city of Palm-Trees,* or Jericho. And they continued in subjection to the Moabites for eighteen years; when, upon renewing their repentance, God delivered them by the hand of Ehud, who slew the king of Moab, and afterwards escaping unto Seirath, blew a trumpet in mount Ephraim, to call the Israelites together; with whom he made a great slaughter of the Moabites. The place to be remarked in this account is Seirath, which from the context plainly enough appears to have lain in mount Ephraim, not far from Gilgal. It is remarkable, because it is very probably thought to be the place denoted by the Jewish historian Josephus, when he tells us, that the posterity of Seth, knowing by Adam's predictions that the world should first perish by water, and then by fire; and being desirous that after-ages should know the discoveries they had made in *astronomy,* they engraved them upon two columns or pillars, one of stone to resist the water, the other of brick to resist the fire; and that they placed those columns in Syrias, that is, the Seirath here mentioned in the sacred history. Which

opinion is confirmed, in that it appears also from the sacred history, that there were some engravings to be seen in these parts. For the word, which we render in our English translation *quarries*, does denote also, and is actually rendered in the Septuagint version, *graven images*, or *engravings*, which is taken notice of in the margin of our Bible. Hence some have imagined, that Adam and his posterity dwelt in Judea, but very erroneously. For it is a mere fable to ascribe those columns to the posterity of Seth, and to think them elder than the deluge; they being rather a work of the ancient inhabitants of Canaan, who might follow herein the example of their neighbours the Egyptians.

In chapters iv. and v. we have an account of the delivery God vouchsafed the Israelites, from Jabin king of Canaan, by the hands of Deborah and Barak. That this Jabin must be different from the Jabin mentioned Josh. xi. is evident, because it is expressly said ver. 10. of that chapter, that *Joshua took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword*. It is also there said, ver. 11. that *Joshua burnt Hazor with fire*. When therefore it is here said, Judg. iv. 2. that this Jabin was *king of Canaan*, and *reigned in Hazor, the captain of whose host was Sisera, which dwelt in Harosheth of the Gentiles*; it hence follows, that between the time of Joshua and Deborah, the Canaanites had found opportunities to reestablish their ancient kingdom in these parts, and to rebuild Hazor, and to set up one of the old royal line to be their king, who, according to the common usage of those ages, retained one and the same name with his predecessors. Some indeed understand the words thus; that this Jabin was king of that part of Canaan, which lay in the country where Hazor formerly stood, and whose seat then was at *Harosheth of the Gentiles*. For they understand this place to be mentioned in the text, as the dwelling-place, not of Sisera, but of Jabin himself, whose general Sisera was. This place being only mentioned in this transaction, the situation of it can be no further known, than that it lay probably not

4
Of Hazor
and Haro-
sheth of the
Gentiles.

PART II. far from the place where Hazor stood, and so not far from the waters of Merom, or Semechonite lake, and in Galilee of the Gentiles, or the Upper Galilee; this being intimated by its being called Harosheth of the Gentiles.

5. Of the river Kishon. The battle between the Israelites and Canaanites was this time fought at the river Kishon, near mount Tabor. Of this mount I have spoken in my Geography of the New Testament. From it come the waters which make the river Kishon, which is related by some to run two ways, partly westward into the Mediterranean sea, and partly eastward into the sea of Galilee. And hence in several maps of the Holy Land we may see one continued course or stream from the sea of Galilee to the Mediterranean sea, drawn to represent the river Kishon. Now was this river a course or stream by which some of the waters of the sea of Galilee, or lake of Genesareth, were conveyed into the Mediterranean sea, then such a continued channel would be agreeable enough to the course of the river: but that the waters which make this river should rise from mount Tabor, and in one such continued channel run two different ways, is altogether incredible, and of what there is no other instance to be found, as I ever heard of, in the whole world. And this is still the more incredible, because no notice is taken of it by Eusebius or Jerom. Upon the whole, the matter seems to be this; from mount Tabor (as from several other mountains) flow waters on two several sides of it; they on one side take their course westward to the Mediterranean sea; they on the other side take their course eastward to the sea of Galilee; so that there are two spring-heads, and two distinct rivers, though both arising from the same mountain. And perhaps both these might be called Kishon, one the Greater Kishon, the other the Lesser Kishon; that running westward, this eastward. But whatever becomes of the Lesser Kishon, or the river so called, and running eastward into the sea of Galilee; certain it is from another passage of Scripture, that the Kishon mentioned in Scripture ran westward to the Mediterranean sea. For we read 1 Kings xviii. that when Eli-

jah had convinced the people of Israel assembled together CHAP. VI.
 at mount Carmel, that Baal was not a true God, the prophet ordered the people to seize all the prophets of Baal, and to bring them down to the brook Kishon, where he slew them. So that the brook Kishon must run along near the mount Carmel, which mount standing on the sea shore, and the Kishon rising at mount Tabor, it follows that its course must be from mount Tabor to mount Carmel, that is, westward, and so it must empty itself into the Mediterranean sea. Mr. Maundrell tells us, that this river cuts its way down the middle of the plain of Esdrael; and then continuing its course close by the side of mount Carmel, falls into the sea at a place called Caypha. In the condition he saw it, its waters were low and inconsiderable; but in passing along the side of the plain, he discerned the tracts of many lesser torrents falling down into it from the mountains, which must needs make it swell exceedingly upon sudden rains.

In the song of Deborah and Barak there is mention made of Meroz, the inhabitants whereof the Israelites are excited to curse bitterly, and that by the direction of the angel of the Lord; *because they came not to the help of the Lord, &c.* This Meroz is no where else mentioned in Scripture; and therefore, as to its situation, it can only be said in general, that it seems probably to have been a place not far from mount Tabor, or the river Kishon, in the neighbourhood whereof the battle was fought between Barak and Sisera: so that the inhabitants thereof could allege no tolerable pretence for their not assisting the rest of their brethren, on account of which their inexcusableness they were so accursed. 6.
Of Meroz.

In chap. vi. vii. and viii. we have an account of the Israelites being for their impieties delivered into the hand of the Midianites for seven years; after which, upon their repentance, they were freed again from this their subjection by the hands of Gideon. This person was of the family of Abi-ezer, of the tribe of Manasseh; and so the Ophrah, which he dwelt at, must be understood to be 7.
Of Ophrah,
the native
place of
Gideon.

PART II. situated in the half tribe of Manasseh, on the west side of Jordan; whence it is styled Ophrah of the Abi-ezrites, (chap. viii. 32.) to distinguish it from another Ophrah, lying in the tribe of Benjamin.

8. Of the children of the East. Though the Midianites were the principal people concerned in the invasions or inroads mentioned in the history of Gideon, yet they were not the only people therein concerned, but were assisted therein with the confederate forces of the *Amalekites and the children of the East*, as we read chap. vi. 3, 33. Where by the *children of the East* may be denoted the Ammonites and Moabites, as lying to the east of the land of Israel, if not some of the Ishmaelites and others that inhabited the parts of Arabia lying eastward in respect of the Israelites. It is evident, that by *the children or people of the East*, are understood Gen. xxix. 1. the inhabitants of Mesopotamia; but these seem to lie too far off to be concerned in these incursions into the land of Israel. And therefore, since we read Gen. xxv. 6. that *Abraham sent away the sons of his concubines* (particularly the sons of Keturah, one whereof was Midian, the father of the Midianites) *eastward unto the east country*; it may be probably inferred, that by the children of the East in this history of Gideon are denoted the descendants of the other sons of Keturah, and of the brothers of Midian, who had settled themselves in the eastern parts adjoining to Midian.

9. Of Jezreel, and the valley of Jezreel. The Midianites, together with their auxiliaries or confederates, *gathered together, and went over*, (namely, the river Jordan,) *and pitched in the valley of Jezreel*, chap. vi. 33. This valley took its name from Jezreel, a very considerable city standing in it. To speak first of the city: it is very frequently mentioned in Scripture, particularly in the history of the kings of Israel; some of whom had a royal palace here, where they sometime resided, (the situation of this city being very pleasant,) though their regal city was Samaria. We find that Ahab in particular had a palace here, hard by which was the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite; who (poor man!) was forced to part with

his life, because he would not part with his vineyard. CHAP. VI.
 But that infamous queen Jezebel, the author of Naboth's death, was at length overtaken by the divine vengeance in this very city, being flung out of a window, and thereby so bruised, that *her blood was sprinkled on the wall, and on the horses* that were by; after which she was trodden under foot, and *her flesh eat by the dogs*; insomuch that, when orders were given to bury her, *no more was found of her, than the skull, and the feet, and the palms of her hands*, 2 Kings ix. 30—37. This city appertained to the half tribe of Manasseh on the west of Jordan, lying in the confines of this half tribe and the tribe of Issachar, as appears from Joshua xix. 18. Eusebius and Jerom tell us, that it was a very considerable large town in their time, situated between Scythopolis or Bethshan, and the city called in their time Legeon, in a great plain. As the name Jezreel was moulded into Esdraela by the Greeks, (which was the name of the town in Eusebius's time,) so the adjoining plain is thence still denoted by the name of the *plain of Esdraelon*; which is, as Mr. Maundrell informs us, of a vast extent and very fertile, but uncultivated, only serving the Arabs for pasturage. Of these there were two clans encamped in this plain, when Mr. Maundrell went over it. This plain may be the same that is denoted in this passage of the book of Judges, by the *valley of Jexreel*, these words *plain* and *valley* being used promiscuously in the sacred writ. Otherwise the *valley of Jexreel* must denote some other lesser valley near Jezreel, and, as some think, lying between mount Hermon and mount Gilboa.

As the Midianites pitched in the valley of Jexreel, so 10.
 Gideon pitched beside the well of Harod: so that the Mi- Of the well
of Harod,
and the hill
Moreh.
 dianites were on the north side of them, by the hill of
 Moreh, in the valley, Judg. vii. 1. From whence it ap-
 pears plainly that this *well of Harod*, and this *hill of*
Moreh, must be in or near the *valley of Jexreel*. And it
 is not improbable, that the *well of Harod* is the same de-
 noted elsewhere by a *fountain which is in Jexreel*, where

PART II. the Israelites pitched before the battle at mount Gilboa, when Saul was slain, 1 Sam. xxix. 1. From whence it may also be probably inferred, that the *hill of Moreh* is only a branch of the mountains of Gilboa, or the very mountains themselves; whence some render the Hebrew words the High Hill, taking them appellatively, and to denote properly mount Gilboa.

11. In this chap. vii. ver. 3. we have mention made of
 A difficulty concerning mount Gilead removed.
 mount Gilead, which in its common acceptation is well enough known to lie on the east of Jordan. But in this sense it cannot be well understood here to be said, that *whosoever is fearful, let him depart early from mount Gilead*; since the place where Gideon was encamped was apparently on the west side of Jordan. The solution of this difficulty has much perplexed commentators and other writers. And among the opinions produced by them, the best seems to be, that Gilead is taken to denote the tribe of Manasseh in general, and so applicable to both the half tribes, that on the west as well as that on the east of Jordan; and so by mount Gilead here is denoted no more than the *mount lying in Manasseh*, and so may be understood of Gilboa, near to which Gideon was encamped. This, I say, seems the best opinion of those produced by commentators and others. I must profess, that I rather think this difficulty to have arisen only from a mistake of some transcriber in the more early times, who for גלבע wrote גלעד, that is, for Gilboa wrote Gilead. The Hebrew words differ but in one letter, and therefore such a mistake might easily be committed; and the present reading being followed by all the old versions, is not a sufficient argument, that such a mistake was *never* made, (as is evident from Deut. x. 6. of which see chap. ii. sect. 6. §. 3.) but only that the mistake was made *before* any of those versions were made. And upon this supposition the whole difficulty is easily taken away.

12. The army of the Midianites being put into a consternation by a stratagem made use of by Gideon, did not stand a fight, but *fled to Bethshittah towards Zererath, and*
 Of Abel-meholath, Zererath, &c.

to the border of Abelmeholath, unto Tabbath, ver. 22. Beth-shittah and Tabbath are no where else mentioned in Scripture, and so nothing can be known more of their situation, than that they were not far, one from Zererath, and the other from Abelmeholath. Of these two, Zererath is thought to be the same with Zeretan, or Zartanah, and so to lie on the river Jordan, not far from Bethshan. Abelmeholath is conjectured likewise to lie near the river Jordan; which is thought to be denoted by the Hebrew word, rendered in our Bible *border*, but denoting also *the lip*, (as is observed in the margin of our Bible,) and so frequently used to denote the *brink* of a river. This place is remarkable for being the birth-place of Elisha the prophet.

The enemy flying, the *Israelites took the waters unto Beth-barah and Jordan*, ver. 24. that is, secured all the fords or passes along the river Jordan, from Beth-barah, (which is thought to be the same with Bethabarah, mentioned in the Gospel of St. John,) lying near the south end of the river Jordan, to the beginning of Jordan, or its coming out of the sea of Galilee. For somewhere between these places the enemy was to make his escape over Jordan homewards. Accordingly the Israelites took (as several other common soldiers, so particularly) two princes of the Midianites, Oreb and Zeeb, ver. 25.

But the two kings of Midian, Zeba and Zalmunna, got over unto the other side of Jordan, to a place called Karkor; which word some understand rather as an appellative, denoting that they (being escaped so far as to think themselves out of danger of being pursued thither, where they staid) *were in security*; and indeed it is expressly said of them, ch. viii. ver. 11. that *the host was secure*. But they found themselves mistaken; for Gideon coming upon them (not directly, but round about) *by the way of them that dwell in tents, on the east of Nobah and Jogbehah, smote them*; and afterwards taking the two kings, killed them. We have Jogbehah mentioned Num. xxxii. 35. among the cities of Gad; and Nobah we have there also

13.
Of Beth-barah.

14.
Of Karkor, Nobah, and Jogbehah, &c.

PART II. mentioned ver. 42. as appertaining to the half tribe of Manasseh on the east side of Jordan. And therefore by *them that dwelt in tents*, are to be understood the Arabians living on the east of Peræa, or the country beyond Jordan. The other places mentioned in the history of Gideon have been before spoken of.

15.
Of Beer.

In chap. ix. ver. 21. we read that Jotham, one of the sons of Gideon, dwelt at Beer, for fear of Abimelech his brother. This Beer, according to Eusebius and Jerom, was seated eight miles from Eleutheropolis to the north, and so must lie in the tribe of Judah. But others make it to be the same with Beeroth mentioned above, chap. iv. §. 11.

16.
Of Millo,
mount Zal-
mon, &c.

It is not certain, whether the house of Millo, ver. 20. denotes a place or not: but if it was a place, it appears, from the circumstances of the history, that it lay near Shechem. And the same is to be said of the plain of Meonenim, ver. 37. and the mount of Zalmon, ver. 48. This last is probably the same mentioned Psalm lxxviii. 14. as remarkable for the snow lying on it.

17.
Of Thebez.

At ver. 50. we read that Abimelech encamped against Thebez, and took it. But whilst he was besieging the tower of Thebez, he had his skull broke by a piece of a mill-stone. Eusebius and Jerom tell us, that there was a town of the same name in their time, in the neighbourhood of Neapolis or Sichem, and about thirteen miles from Scythopolis.

18.
Of the land
of Tob.

Of Gilead, mentioned ch. x. ver. 4. I have already^a spoken. I proceed therefore to the history of Jephthah, who is said ch. xi. ver. 3. to have fled from his brethren, and dwelt in the land of Tob. This country occurs only here and ver. 5. under this name; but it is not improbably conjectured, that it is the same with Ish-tob, 2 Sam. x. 6, 8. Whence it appears, that this was a country of the Syrians, and lying near the other countries of Syria there mentioned together with it, viz. the countries of Zoba,

Rehob, and Maachah; and accordingly it must lie adjoining, or not far from Gilead, the country of Jephthah. CHAP. VI.

All the other places that occur in the account of Jephthah are spoken of before, except where it is said, that he smote the *Ammonites from Aroer, even till thou come to Minnith, even twenty cities, and unto the plain of the Vineyards*. Chap. xi. 33. Minnith we have mention of again, Ezek. xxvii. 17. as lying in a good wheat country. Whether these two were one and the same place, cannot be affirmed; or whether either be the same with Minnith mentioned by Eusebius, lying four miles from Esbus, or Heshbon, towards Philadelphia. The Minnith here mentioned in the history of Jephthah is thought more probably to lie in the country of Ammon, as Abel-ampelonon is asserted to do, by Eusebius and Jerom, who tell us there was in their days a town called Abel, six or seven miles from Philadelphia, (i. e. Rabbah,) the chief city of the Ammonites, and that the country round this Abel was full of vineyards. This Abel-ampelonon is rendered in our text *the plain of the Vineyards*; but in the margin it is observed, that it may be rendered *Abel of the Vineyards*, which is the literal signification of Abel-ampelonon in Eusebius. 19.
Of Min-
nith, and
Abel of the
Vineyards.

We come next to the history of Sampson, who was of the tribe of Dan, and of the town of Zorah belonging to that tribe, and lying in the borders of it and the tribe of Judah. Hence, upon the revolt of the ten tribes, Rehoboam seems to have kept this place, though lying in one of the ten tribes, and to have fortified it for a barrier-town on that side of the kingdom of Judah, as he did also Aijalon, belonging likewise to the tribe of Dan. This Zoara was a town in Eusebius and Jerom's time, on the north of Eleutheropolis, as one goes to Nicopolis or Emmaus, at about ten miles distance from Nicopolis. 20.
Of Zorah.

Another principal city of the Danites, and mentioned in the history of Sampson, is Eshtaol, ch. xiii. ver. 25. From this Eshtaol, and Zorah, the men were sent by the Danites that took the city Laish, afterwards called Dan 21.
Of Eshtaol.

PART II. from the Danites that possessed it. It was afterwards named in the times of the New Testament, Cæsarea Philippi, and has been spoken of before.

22. *The camp of Dan*, ch. xiii. ver. 25. is the same place with Mahaneh-dan, ch. xviii. ver. 12. the former being only the latter expressed in English. It was so called from the Danites encamping here, in their expedition against Laish; and it was situated near Kirjath-jearim in Judah, as we are expressly told, ch. xviii. ver. 12. Of Kirjath-jearim we shall speak in the next chapter.

23. *Timnath* is remarkable for Sampson's falling in love with a woman of that place. It is not improbably thought to be the same that is Josh. xv. 10. called Timnah, and Josh. xix. 43. Timnatha. It was first assigned to the tribe of Judah, but afterwards to the tribe of Dan. Hither it probably was, that Judah, the patriarch of the tribe of Judah, went up to his sheep-shearers, Gen. xxxviii. 12. In Eusebius and Jerom's days there was a great town, named Thamna, lying in the borders of Diospolis, towards Jerusalem. But this seems to have been rather Timnath-heres, the city of Joshua.

24. *Another woman beloved by Sampson was Delilah*, whose name, on account of her treacherous behaviour to Sampson, is become proverbial. She lived *in the valley of Sorek*, chap. xvi. ver. 4. There was in the time of Eusebius and Jerom a town called Caphar-Sorek, (i. e. the town of Sorek,) on the north of Eleutheropolis, near Zorah, where Sampson was born. What we render *the valley of Sorek* is rendered by others *the brook of Sorek*. The other places mentioned in the history of Sampson are such as are only there mentioned, and of which nothing of certainty can be had as to their situation, except the cities of Gaza and Ashkelon; of which I shall speak when I come to treat of the five lordships of the Philistines.

25. *The next place here to be spoken of is Ramah*, mentioned in the story of the Levite, whose concubine was abused at Gibeah. For this Levite setting out in the evening from Bethlehem-Judah, when he was come by

Jebus, or Jerusalem, would not go thither to lodge all night, but said to his servant, *Come and let us draw near to one of these places to lodge all night, in Gibeah, or in Ramoth*, chap. xix. ver. 13. From this text it is evident, that these two places were at no great distance from Jebus, or from one another. We are told by Eusebius and Jerom, that Ramah lay six miles to the north of Jerusalem, over-against Bethel. And Josephus (Antiq. viii. c. 6.) makes the city Ramathon to be distant forty furlongs from Jerusalem, which agrees pretty well with the distance assigned by the two other writers. This is supposed to be the Ramah mentioned in the New Testament out of Jeremy, in reference to the murder of the infants about Bethlehem. And it is styled by Eusebius and Jerom *Ramah, the city of Saul*, probably as lying near to Gibeah, of which I shall speak when I come to the history of Saul; as also of Mizpeh and Jabesh-Gilead. The other places that occur in the history of the Levite, and the fight between the Benjamites and other Israelites, are of uncertain position, being either mentioned there only, or so little said of them elsewhere, as to give no good light in the matter. There is indeed mention, Josh. xv. 32. of Rimmon, a city in the tribe of Judah, and 1 Chron. vi. 77. of another Rimmon in the tribe of Zebulun; but it is not likely that the rock Rimmon, to which the remainder of the Benjamites betook themselves, was so called, as lying near either of these.

In the history of Ruth there occur, I think, only two names of places, viz. Moab, the name of a country so called, and already spoken of; and Bethlehem-Judah, which has also been spoken of in the New Testament already, of which somewhat more will be said, as we go along the history of David, in the second Volume.

26.

Of places
mentioned
in the book
of Ruth.

Lebanon or Jerusalem, would not go further to lodge all night, but said to his servant, Come and let us turn away to one of these places to lodge all night, or at least, of the night, chap. xiv. 17. From this text it is evident, that those two places were at no great distance from each other, and that the distance was not great. And Josephus (Antiq. lib. 8.) makes the city Hamath to be distant forty furlongs from Lebanon, which agrees pretty well with the distance assigned by the two places. This is supposed to be the Hamath mentioned in the New Testament out of Lebanon, in reference to the number of the infants about Bethlehem, and it is called by Josephus and Strabo Hamath, the city of Hamath, probably as lying near to Gilead, of which I shall speak when I come to the history of Saul; as also of Hamath and Gilead-Gilead. The other place that occurs in the history of the Israelites, and the right between the Benjaminites and other Israelites, are of uncertain position being either mentioned there only, or as little said of them elsewhere, as to give no good light in the matter. There is indeed mention, Josh. xv. 21, of Hamath, a city in the tribe of Judah, and 1 Chron. vi. 77, of another Hamath in the tribe of Reuben; but it is not likely that the rock Hamath, to which the remainder of the Benjaminites betook themselves, was so called; as lying near either of these.

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Of places mentioned in the book of Ruth.

A
CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
SACRED HISTORY

Contained in the Books of

EXODUS, LEVITICUS, NUMBERS, DEUTERONOMY,
JOSHUA, JUDGES, AND RUTH,

Described, together with the general Chronology of part
of *Genesis*, of the two Books of *Samuel*, and part of
the first Book of *Kings*, in TWO TABLES.



*The first is a CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the Sojourning
of the Children of Israel, and their Fathers, in the Land
of Canaan, and in the Land of Egypt, containing the
space of four hundred and thirty years, Exod. xii. 40.*

*The second is a CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the interval
from the Exodus to the beginning of the Building of
Solomon's Temple, containing the space of four hundred
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IN drawing up the *Chronology* of those books of the sacred Scripture, whose *Geography* is described in the foregoing Treatise, we must guide ourselves by two remarkable intervals of time, expressly mentioned in the sacred history, viz. one in Exod. xii. 40. the other in 1 Kings vi. 1.

In the former text we are told, (according to the true original reading, as it still stands in the Samaritan or old Hebrew Pentateuch, and also is followed by the Seventy Interpreters; by which therefore the present reading of the common Hebrew and our English Bible ought to be corrected,) that *the sojourning of the children of Israel, and of their fathers, which they sojourned in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years.* Whence it clearly appears, that the æra or head of this interval of time is to be placed at Abraham's first coming into the land of Canaan, from Haran in Mesopotamia. And therefore from it I shall begin the first CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE hereunto belonging, which distinctly shews the several parts of the said interval of sojourning, mentioned in Scripture, to the Exodus or going of the children of Israel out of Egypt.

Jacob dies, having lived in the land of Egypt seventy years, and being in all an hundred and forty-seven years old. Gen. xlvii. 31.	222	1897	2225
Jacob goes down into Egypt, in the hundred and seventh year of his life, which time he was an hundred and thirty years old. Gen. xlvii. 9.	212	1712	2225

I. A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the Sojourning of the Children of Israel, and of their Fathers, in the Land of Canaan, and in the Land of Egypt, containing the space of 430 Years, Exod. xii. 40.

Years of the World.	Years before the common Year of Christ's Nativity.	Years of sojourning.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
2023	1927	1	Abraham departs from Haran, and goes to sojourn in Canaan, being seventy-five years old, Gen. xii. 4.
2048	1902	25	Isaac is born, Abraham being an hundred years old, Gen. xxi. 5.
2108	1842	85	Esau and Jacob are born, Isaac their father being threescore years old, Gen. xxv. 26.
2199	1751	176	Joseph is born. How the time of Joseph's birth is deduced from Scripture, see p. 206. of this volume.
2238	1712	215	Jacob goes down into Egypt, in the second year of the seven years of famine, Gen. xlv. 11. at which time he was an hundred and thirty years old, Gen. xlvii. 9.
2255	1695	232	Jacob dies, having lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and being in all an hundred and forty-seven years old, Gen. xlvii. 28.

Years of the World.	Years before the common Year of Christ's Nativity.	Years of sojourning.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
2309	1641	286	Joseph dies, being an hundred and ten years old, Gen. l. 22.
2370	1580	347	Aaron is born *.
2373	1577	350	Moses is born *, sixty-four years after Joseph's death.
2453	1497	430	The Exodus, or going of the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, Exod. xii. 40, 41.

* Though the times of Moses and Aaron's birth are no where expressly mentioned in Scripture, yet that it was at the times here specified, may be thus deduced from the sacred history. From the æra or beginning of the sojourning, viz. from the 75th year of Abraham, to Joseph's death, were 286 years, as appears by the foregoing particulars. But $430 - 286 = 144$. and Moses was 80 years old when he spake to Pharaoh, a little before the Exodus, Exod. vii. 7: therefore $144 - 80 = 64$, the time between Joseph's death and Moses' birth; and consequently, Joseph dying Anno Mundi 2309, before Christ 1641. Moses was born A. M. $[2309 + 64 =]$ 2373, before Christ $[1641 - 64 =]$ 1577, as in the Table. Now the birth of Moses being known, the birth of Aaron is obvious to be assigned, being expressly said in the forecited Exod. vii. 7. that *Moses was fourscore years old, and Aaron fourscore and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh.* Wherefore Aaron was born A. M. 2370, before Christ 1580.

In fixing the chronology of such particulars as are mentioned in the sacred history after the Exodus, we must be all along guided principally by the other text above mentioned, viz. 1 Kings vi. 1. wherein we are expressly told, that from the Exodus to Solomon's beginning to build the Temple were *four hundred and fourscore years*. Wherefore the intermediate particulars mentioned in Scripture must be so adjusted, as to fall within, and just make up the said interval of time assigned in the forecited text. And it being evident from the sacred history, that the Exodus was in the beginning of their as well as our year, viz. in Nisan or March, hence the same year of the world and before Christ, as answers to the 430th or last year of the interval of sojourning, must also be esteemed, at least as to its greatest part, the first year of the interval from the Exodus, to the laying of the foundation of Solomon's Temple.

II. A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the Interval
from the Exodus to the beginning of the Building
of Solomon's Temple, containing the space of 480
Years, 1 Kings vi. 1.

Years of the World.	Years before the com- mon Year of Christ's Nativity.	Years from the Exodus.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
2453	1497	1	In the third month, when the children of Israel were gone forth out of Egypt, the same day they came into the wilderness of Sinai, and encamped before the mount, <i>Exod. xix. 1, 2.</i> The law given them, and other statutes, &c. contained <i>Exod. xx. to the end of Leviticus.</i>
2454	1496	2	In the first month of the second year, the celebrating of the pass-over is again commanded, <i>Num. ix. 1, 2, &c.</i> On the first day of the second month, in the second year, God commands the sum of the Israelites to be taken, or the people to be numbered, (whence the book of Numbers has its name,) <i>Num. i. 1.</i> On the twentieth day of the second month, in the second year, the Israelites took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai, and, after two or three encampments, came to Kadesh-barnea, in the wilderness of Paran, <i>Num. x. 11, 12. compared with Num. xi. 1, 2, 3, 34, 35. Num. xii. 16. and Num. xiii. 2, 26.</i>

Years of the World.	Years before the common Year of Christ's Nativity.	Years from the Exodus.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
2454	1496	2	From Kadesh-barnea the spies are sent to search out the land of Canaan; who, upon their return, disheartening the people, God, by reason of their unbelief and diffidence, decrees, that they should wander in the wilderness of Arabia forty years, viz. thirty-eight years, besides the two already spent in those parts, Num. xiii. and xiv. Caleb was then forty years old, Josh. xiv. 7.
2492	1458	40	God refusing to assist the Israelites (after their unbelief) in attempting to go into Canaan, and the people having experienced that it was in vain to attempt it without God's assistance (Num. xiv.) turned and took their journey (from Kadesh-barnea) into the wilderness again, by the way of the Red sea, (Deut. ii. 1.) and so wandered from place to place, keeping round mount Seir, and making the several encampments mentioned Num. xxxiii. 19—36. At length, viz. in the first month of the thirty-eighth year, as appears from what follows, the Israelites came into the desert of Zin, and abode in (the other) Kadesh; and there Miriam died, and was buried. Numb. xx. 1. compared with Numb. xxxiii. 36. Removing from Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin, they encamped in mount Hor, where Aaron dies, being an hundred and twenty-three years old, Num. xxxiii. 37—39.

Years of the World.	Years before the common year of Christ's Nativity.	Years from the Exodus.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
2492	1458	40	After some few more marches, mentioned Num. xxxiii. 41—44. they passed over the brook Zered; to which time from their leaving Kadesh-barnea, we are expressly told, was <i>thirty and eight years</i> , Deut. ii. 14. Lastly, in the same year died Moses, viz. in the 120th year of his age, Deut. xxxiv. 7.
2499	1451	47	The land of Canaan divided among the nine tribes and half tribe of Manasseh, an end being put to the war with the Canaanites, after it had been carried on prosperously by the Israelites for six years together, from the death of Moses. This year of the division of the land is thus deduced from the sacred history. Caleb tells Joshua, Josh. xiv. 7. that he was forty years old, when Moses sent him from Kadesh-barnea, to spy out the land; and that there were forty-five years from that time to the time he was speaking, which was at the division of the land, as is clear from the sacred history. Now the spies were sent from Kadesh-barnea in the second year of the Exodus: so that it was the forty-seventh year of the Exodus, when Caleb spoke this to Joshua, and consequently A. M. 2499. Before Christ 1451.
2524	1426	72	This may be probably supposed to be the year that Joshua died. For it is reasonable to suppose, that all that were sent by Moses to spy

Years of the World.	Years before the common Year of Christ's Nativity.	Years from the Exodus.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
2524	1426	72	out Canaan, were in the vigour of their age, and so much of the same age, or about forty years old. And consequently, as Caleb, who was one of the spies, expressly tells us, that he was then forty years old; so it is highly probable, that Joshua was likewise of or about the same age, being also one of the spies. Now supposing Joshua to be forty years old, when he went to spy the land, which was in the second year of the Exodus, it follows that he died in the seventy-second year of the Exodus: for we are expressly told, that when he died, he was an hundred and ten years old, (Josh. xxiv. 29. Judg. ii. 8.) and $40 + 70 = 110$. The year therefore above specified may be most reasonably conjectured to be the year wherein Joshua died. I say <i>conjectured</i>, because from the forty-seventh of the Exodus, when the division of the land was made, to the 397th of the same, we have no certain grounds from the sacred history for affixing the intermediate particulars, mentioned in the sacred history, to their respective years. That the land was divided in the 47th year of the Exodus, is plainly deducible from express Scripture, as is before observed. And by counting upwards from the 4th year of Solomon's reign, when he began to build the Temple, and which fell in with the 480th year of the Exodus, we learn from express Scripture, that Saul began

Years of the World.	Years before the common Year of Christ's Nativity.	Years from the Exodus.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
2524	1426	72	his reign in the 397th year of the Exodus. For the Scripture expressly tells us, that David reigned 40 years, and likewise that Saul reigned 40 years, which two reigns, with Solomon's 4 years, make together 84 years. But from 480 years of the Exodus subtract 84 years, and there will remain 396 years for the last year of the Judges, or the year before Saul began his reign. Wherefore the 47th year of the Exodus being ascertained by Scriptural evidence, for the year of the division of the land, and the 397th of the Exodus for the first year of Saul's reign, it follows, that the intermediate account given us in Scripture, in relation to the years of the several Judges, must be so adjusted, as not to exceed 349 years, that is, the space between the <i>division of the land</i> , and the beginning of Saul's reign; forasmuch as it is evident from Scripture, that between these two there intervened but 349 years. And having said thus much by way of introduction, I proceed now to (what seems the most rational way, to) adjust these several years assigned to the Judges in the <i>Book of Judges</i> .
2548	1402	96	To this time may be probably enough referred what is said, Judg. ii. 7, 10, 11. and iii. 7. <i>All that generation (viz. who lived in the days of Joshua, and in the days of the Elders that outlived Joshua) were gathered unto their fathers,</i>

Years of the World.	Years before the com- mon Year of Christ's Nativity.	Years from the Exodus.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
2548	1402	96	<i>and there arose another generation after them, which knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel. And they did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim, &c.</i>
2556	1394	104	<i>The Lord's anger was hot against Israel, (viz. for their idolatry in serving Baalim,) and he sold them into the hand of Cushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia; and they served him eight years, Judg. iii. 8.</i>
2596	1354	144	<i>Upon the repentance of the Israelites, they are delivered from the bondage of Cushan-rishathaim, by Othniel, son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother; and the land had rest forty years, Judg. iii. 11.</i>
2614	1336	162	<i>The children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord, and he delivered them into the hand of Eglon, king of Moab, and they served Eglon eighteen years, Judg. iii. 14. During this time also happened what is related in the Book of Ruth.</i>
2694	1256	242	<i>Upon their repentance, the Israelites are delivered from their subjection to the Moabites, by the hand of Ehud; and the land had rest fourscore years, Judg. iii. 15—30.</i>
2701	1249	249	<i>* The children of Israel did evil</i>
* What is related Judg. iv. v. is probably supposed to have concerned			

Years of the World.	Years before the com- mon Year of Christ's Nativity.	Years from the Exodus.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
2701	1249	249	<i>again in the sight of the Lord; and the Lord delivered them into the hand of Midian seven years, Judg. vi. 1.</i>
2741	1209	289	Upon their returning again to God, he of his infinite mercy delivers them from the Midianites, by the hand of Gideon; <i>and the land was in quietness forty years in the days of Gideon.</i> So that to this year seems to be referred also the death of Gideon, Judg. vi. 7. &c. to Judg. viii. 28—32.
2744	1106	292	After the death of Gideon, Abimelech, a son of his by a concubine, gets himself made king; and reigns three years, Judg. ix. 1—22.
2767	1183	315	<i>After Abimelech, there arose to defend Israel, Tola, the son of Puah, and he judged Israel twenty and three years, and he died, Judg. x. 1, 2.</i>
2789	1161	337	<i>After him arose Jair, a Gileadite, and judged Israel twenty and two years, Judg. x. 3.</i>
2829	1121	377	<i>And the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord, and</i>

only part of Israel, viz. the north part of Israel; and in like manner, what is related Judg. xi. and xii. is probably supposed to relate only to the north-east part of Israel; and consequently that the years allotted to each Judge, specified in these chapters, are not to be reckoned as succeeding, in their respective places, the years above contained in the Table, but rather fell in with some of them. Namely, what is related chap. iv. and v. to be contained, or to have happened between the year 1316 and 1256 before Christ; and what is related chap. x. 7—chap. xii. 13. to have happened between the year 1161 and 1120 before Christ. What is related chap. xvii.—chap. xxi. is supposed to have happened about 1406 years before Christ.

Years of the World.	Years before the common Year of Christ's Nativity.	Years from the Exodus.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
2829	1121	377	<i>he delivered them into the hand of the Philistines forty years, Judg. xiii. 1.</i> During twenty years of this their servitude to the Philistines, Samson seems to have judged the south-west part of Israel; for it is said, Judg. xv. 20. <i>And he judged Israel in the days of the Philistines twenty years.</i> Consequently this year Samson seems to have been killed, together with the Philistines, by the fall of the house he plucked down. It is likewise highly probable, that the battle recorded 1 Sam. vii. put an end to this forty years servitude, and so was fought this 377th year of the Exodus.
2848	1102	396	This is the last year of the Judges, or the year before the first of Saul's reign. According to which from the battle recorded 1 Sam. vii. to this time, were 19 years, wherein Samuel judged Israel, before Saul was made king.
2888	1062	436	Saul is slain, having reigned forty years, as we are told Acts xiii. 21.
2928	1022	476	David dies, after a reign of forty years, viz. <i>Seven years he reigned in Hebron, and thirty and three years he reigned in Jerusalem,</i> 1 Kings ii. 11.
2932	1018	480	<i>It came to pass, in the four hundred and fourscore years after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of</i>

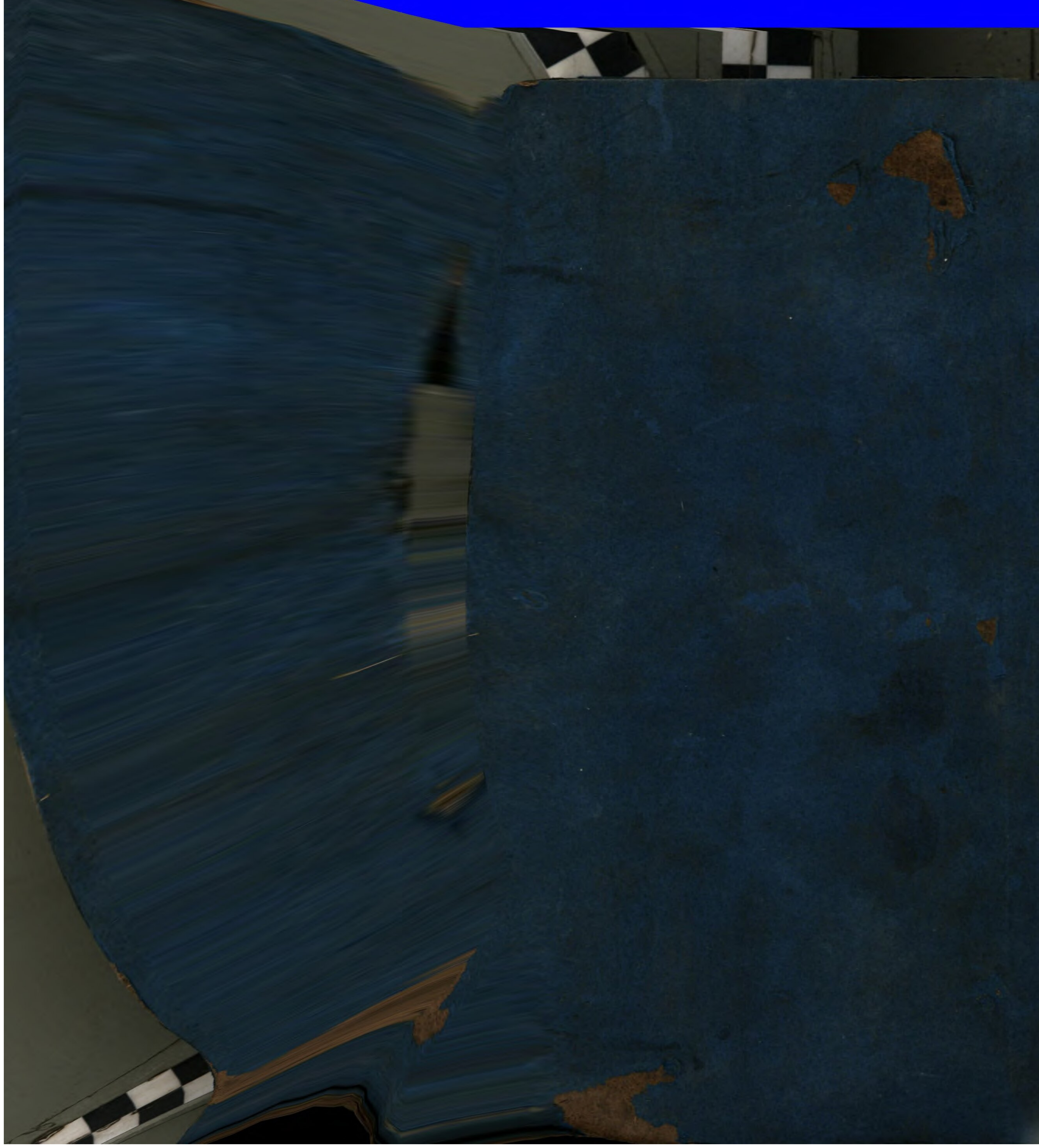
Years of the World.	Years before the com- mon Year of Christ's Nativity.	Years from the Exodus.	REMARKABLE PARTICULARS.
2932	1018	480	<i>Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Zif, which is the second month, that he began to build the house of the Lord, 1 Kings vi. 1.</i>

And thus I have laid before the reader the more remarkable particulars, contained within the interval of time between the Exodus, and the beginning to build the Temple of Solomon, containing the space of 480 years, as we are taught by express Scripture, 1 Kings vi. 1. And thereby I have given the reader a Chronological Account of the several Sacred Books, whose Geographical Part is the subject of the foregoing Treatise; and not only so, but have also carried the Chronology somewhat further, namely, as far as to 1 Kings vi. judging it improper to put an end to this second Table, till I had brought it down to the end of the forementioned interval.

END OF VOL. I.







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